DECEMBER GRAPHIC

SURVEY

WOMAN'S PLACE NUMBER

SHALL WE JOIN THE GENTLEMEN? *Mary Ros*

Su[illegible]ting an Able-bodied Girl — ELEANOR R. WEMBRIDGE

What Are Parents For? — FRANKWOOD WILLIAMS, M.D.

Wasting Women — STUART CHASE

Shall We Have a Child? — JANE SHEPPARD HOLBIN

Her Day: *Home and Job* — BEULAH AMIDON

CHANGING MARRIAGE — BEATRICE M. HINKLE, M.D.

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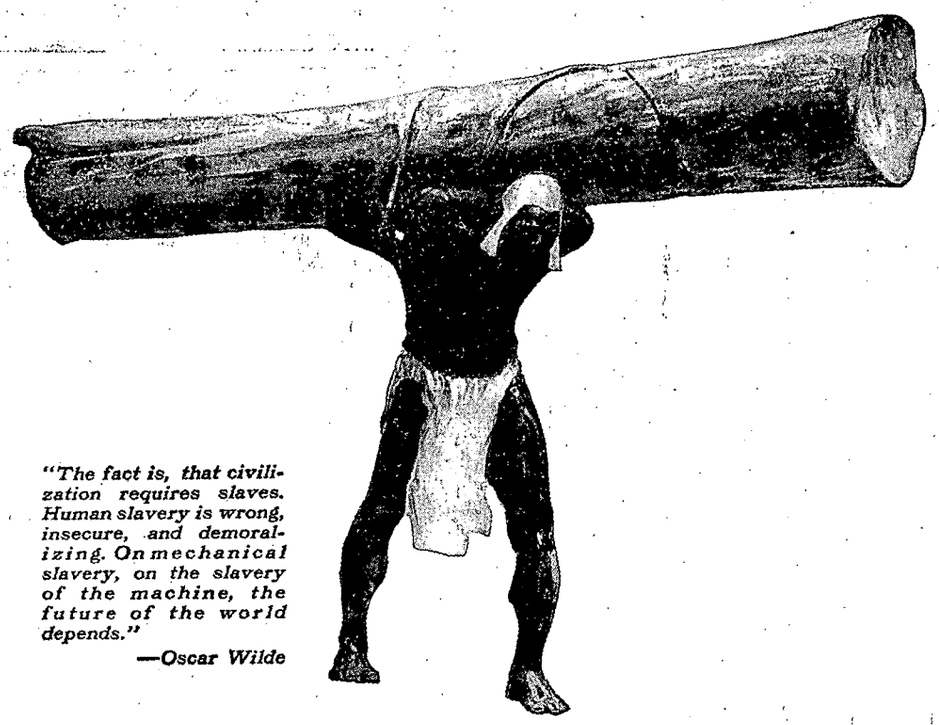

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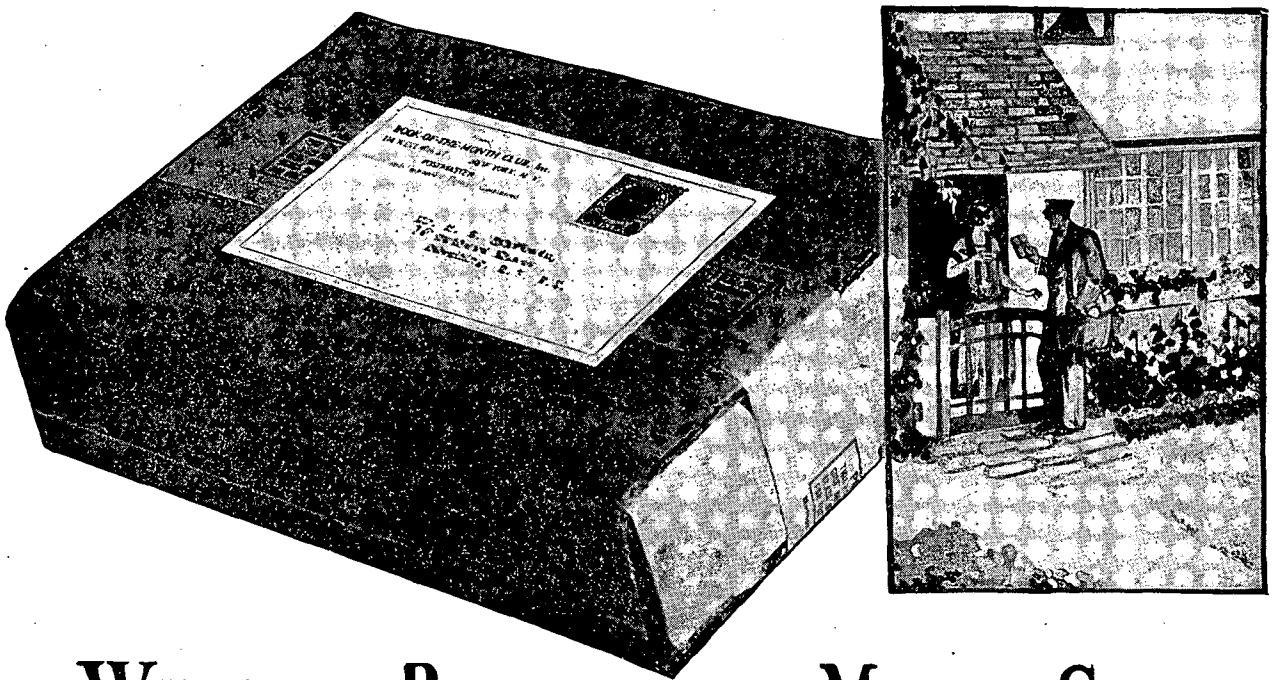

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"If You Hear of Anything"—

TWO men, neighbors, were seated in the smoking car of a suburban express. As the train pulled out the better dressed man turned to the other genially. "Well, Jim, how are they treating you? Keeping you busy?" The man called Jim slowly shook his head. "I am being let out the first of the month . . . too old . . . If you hear of anything, I wish you'd let me know."

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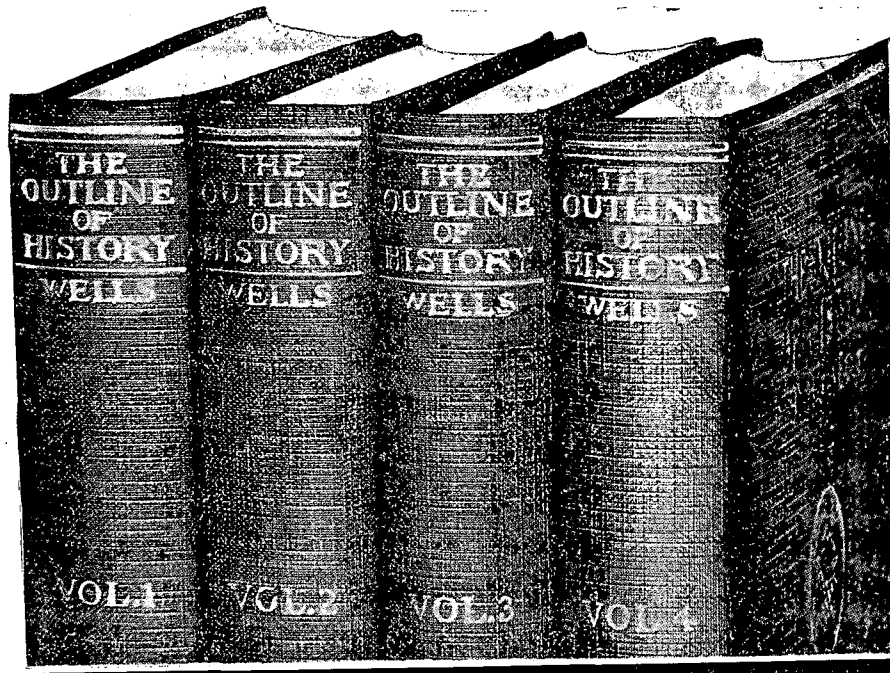

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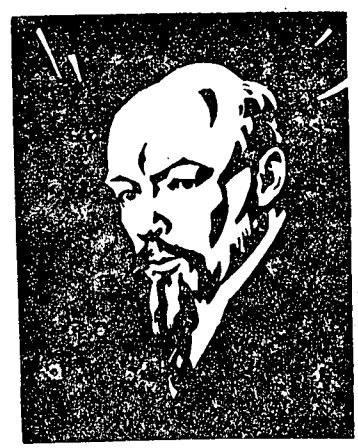

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THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

BY and large, women have always worked and for the same reason that men work—for bread and butter. But not until the Census of 1920 had been counted up, did we realize that almost one married woman in ten is working for wages—for bread and butter. That puts a new face on many old friends—marriage, divorce, children, husbands and the like. And it gives the text for this special Woman's Place number wherein those fortunate ones who have both successful children and successful jobs set forth their case and describe their lives; where, moreover, these practitioners and other students of the modern home make it clear why the majority of married working-women *must* manage a job as well as their children.

READERS no less than editors are under deep obligation to Mary Ross of The Survey Staff for an issue which is rounded, well-written and sincere. Miss Ross herself (page 263) writes the leading article. Her past includes Vassar, the Columbia School of Journalism, reporting for the New York World and reconstruction work with the Quakers in France; her present, two children and her editorial position.

STUART CHASE, a member of the Labor Bureau, Inc., has written widely on social and economic subjects, particularly in a recent book, The Tragedy of Waste. Page 268. Among her many experiences in the social field, **Helen Glenn Tyson** includes a position as first state supervisor of the Mothers' Assistance Fund of Pennsylvania and two children of her own. Page 275. **William F. Green,** albeit a mere man, is president of the American Federation of Labor. Page 280. **Agnes H. Peterson** is assistant director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. Page 281. **Paul H. Douglas,** a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, is the outstanding American proponent of the family wage, the author of many volumes on that and related subjects and "as for children, we have four of them." Page 282. **Alice Beal Parsons** is a parent and writer, author of one of the most significant recent analyses of the position of woman today, Woman's Dilemma (Crowell, 1926) Page 284.

DR. BEATRICE M. HINKLE is a parent, physician, psychoanalyst, author of The Re-Creating of the Individual, of numerous scientific papers and articles and of the chapter on Marriage in the New World in Count Herman Keyserling's Book of Marriage. Dr. Hinkle, page 286. A review of the Book of Marriage, page 322. **Ernest W. Burgess** is associate professor of sociology at the University of Chicago. Page 290. **Eleanor Rowland Wembridge,** referee of the Cleveland Juvenile Court, is endeared to Survey readers by the human no less than the psychological insight of her stories, many of which have recently appeared in her book, Other People's Daughters. Incidentally, she has a daughter of her own. Page 295. **Ernest W. Mowrer** has been assistant professor of sociology at Coe College and Ohio Wesleyan University. Much of the material for his article has been drawn from his volume, Family Disorganization, to be published this month by the University of Chicago Press. Page 298. **Mrs. Abel J. Gregg,** former social worker, college instructor and dean, is vice-chairman of the Family Commission of the Y.W.C.A. Page 300.

ZONA GALE is widely known as an interpreter of people, particularly of small-town people. To her notable row of novels has just been added Preface to a Life. Page 306. **Dr. Frankwood E. Williams** is medical director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and lecturer on social psychiatry at Smith, Yale and the New York School for Social Research. Page 307. **Jane Sheppard Holbin** is the nom de plume of the authentic person whose dilemma she describes. Page 310. **Beulah Amidon** is an associate editor of The Survey and the mother of two children. Page 311.

DR. IRA S. WILE has had a hand in every forward-looking movement for children's health and happiness for twenty years. He is now specializing in the problems of children in his private practice and his clinical work at Mt. Sinai Hospital. Page 312. **Chase Going Woodhouse** says: "Son is five and daughter twenty months. Neither has ever been on the sick list to the extent of a cold. My permanent position is in the economic and sociology department at Smith College; at present I am on leave and in charge of the Division of Economics of the Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture." Page 316. **Katharine S. Angell** is an editor of The New Yorker. Page 318. **Eunice Fuller Barnard** has been actively interested in nursery schools as parent clubwoman and writer.

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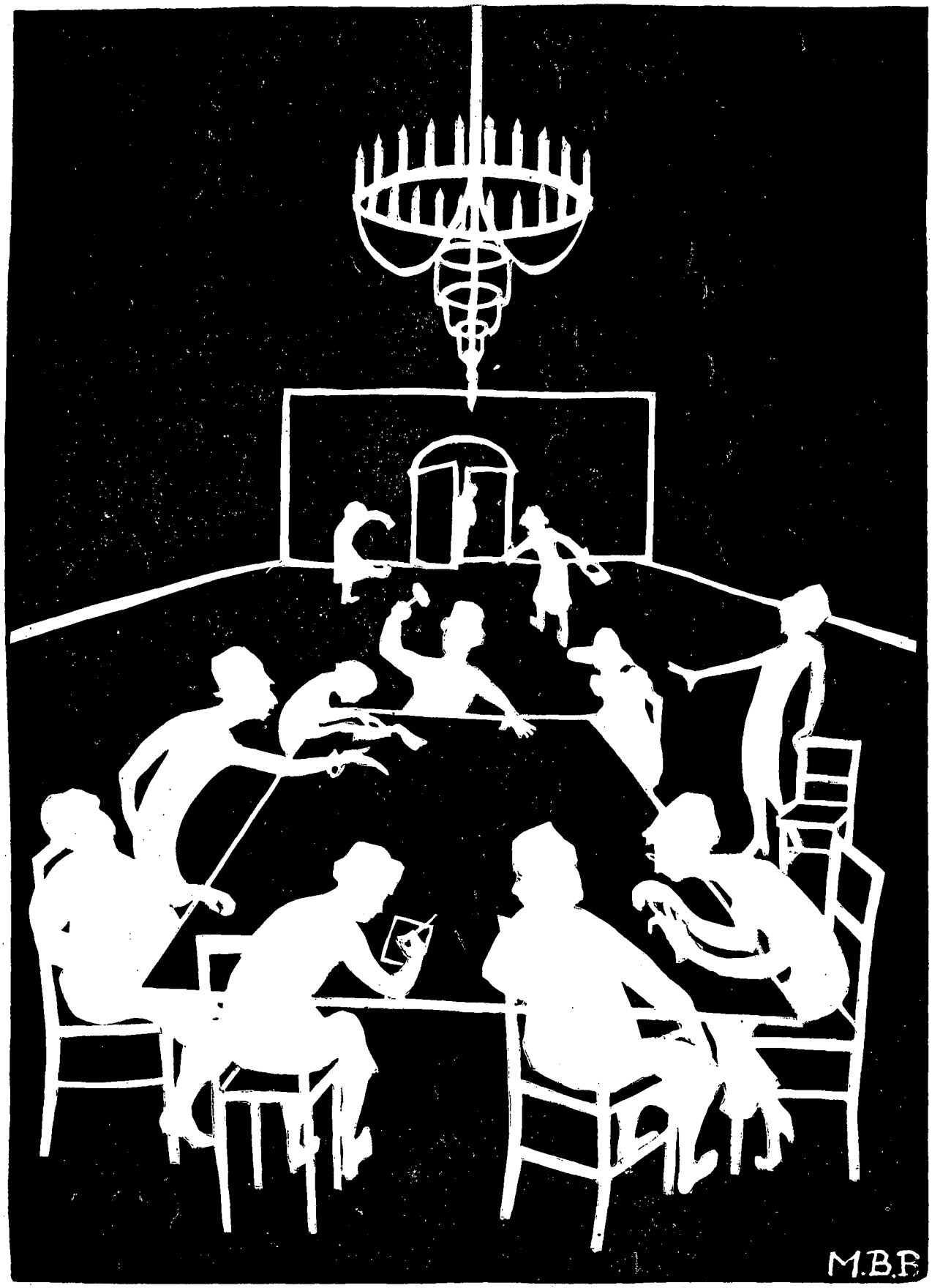

IV. WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE CLUB
The House Committee is called to order

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THE SURVEY
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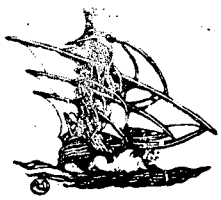

Volume LVII, No. 5

Shall We Join the Gentlemen?

By MARY ROSS

THE last half of the nineteenth century witnessed the struggles of a few gifted women to prove that they had brains and lungs and legs and other ordinary human parts as well as the distinctive attributes of their sex. The close of that era of individualistic proof that a "female" was a person brought the "woman movement" only to equally vexing controversies on the social stage. But still the confusing dust of combat will rise on any platform or fireside which ventures to raise the question:

Shall women work?

That question is perhaps best answered by the sarcastic laughter which it might well arouse in any but the most dilettante group. Women, by and large, have always worked —as men have—to support themselves and their families. If there is any new consideration on this point, it is the comparative leisure of the middle-class, middle-aged American wives of hard-working husbands. In the past, and in Europe today, leisure has ordinarily been a prerogative of class rather than sex; the men of the "upper" classes as well as the women have enjoyed it. For all but an insignificant iota of the women of the world, there is no problem of whether to work or not, but only the question, where?

Perhaps the original query can be more realistically phrased:

Shall women work for wages?

And here it is almost necessary, in order to raise a live point, to add the words "outside the home." Even the most ardent advocates of the woman-in-the-home, male or female, do not seem to feel that there is anything unsuitable in their employing someone else's daughter in their kitchen at the prevailing market rates or less. Indeed, there is now comparatively little discussion of the propriety of the employment of an unmarried woman anywhere—in factory, office, or domestic service. Fifteen years ago there still was an anxious doubt as to whether or not the paid work of any young woman who could afford to work without pay or to remain idle, would not rub off sufficient of the feminine bloom to unfit her for matrimony, surely her ultimate objective. But that question has been stilled by the persistent and cheerful practice of the hundreds of thousands of eminently marriageable young persons who pull on their hats and their gloves and start regularly for the trolley or the subway at 7.30 or 8.00 or 8.30 of a morning. The crucial point in most of the discussion, whether on individual or sociological grounds, comes when the honeymoon ends.

Shall married women work for wages outside their homes?

Regardless of the "ought" of the question, married women do, and in growing numbers. Whereas between 1890 and 1920 the proportion of all American women over 15 "gainfully employed" was increased by 21 per cent, the proportion of *married* women working for wages grew 100 per cent. Nine married women in every 100 are now reported by the Census as bread-winners. This classification gives a minimized picture, for it includes as married only the women with present husbands. Whereas the married women workers reported by the Census comprise about a quarter of the whole group of working women (1,920,281 out of 8,346,796 in 1920), special studies of the Woman's Bureau in a large number of cities indicate that the proportion would be nearer 40 per cent than 25 per cent if to the married women were added the once-married—the divorced, deserted and widowed. And it is this total unknown group about whom now centers the focus of the discussion on woman's place. It is not the husband of the married woman who is the thorny problem of her dilemma of job vs. home, but the children, actual or potential.

Shall we accept wage-earning by the mother as well as by the father as a normal condition of family life?

The paid employment of married women is witness of the fact that the industrial revolution has hit the home. Hardly more than a century ago the grinding process of industrialization began to sweep men out of their own workshops and away from their farms and villages to work

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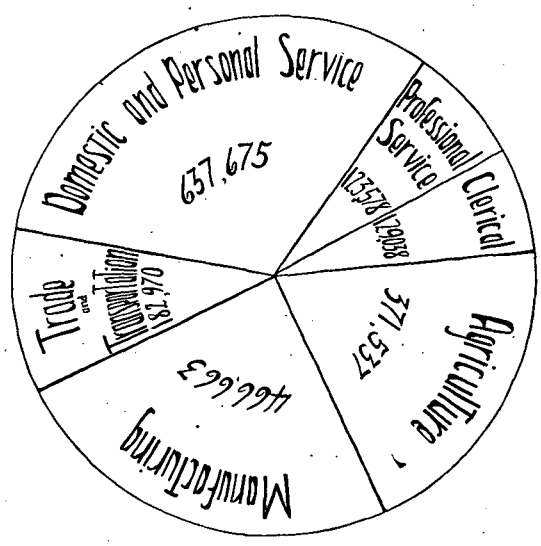
under the crowded factory chimneys of the towns. When steam supplanted water power it drew them in still closer—no longer the village mill streets, with gardens behind the cottages and open country over the hill, but a panorama of the gas tanks and waste land which rims a city, or still further in, the monotonous alleys of asphalt and stone and brick. Men and women whose grandparents measured their income in barrels of apples and potatoes stored in the cellar for winter use; in rows of hams hanging from the rafters; in the bags of wool from sheep-shearing; in piled wood in the dooryard and the corn in the silo; and the hay stacked high to the peak of the barn; in butter and wool and preserves, now see that income in terms of the pay envelope at the end of the week, and what that will buy at the chain grocery, the five-and-ten, the department store.

FARM families, the Department of Agriculture estimates, still produce about a third of the total value of the family's living by their own labor, and need cash only for the remainder. But the majority of Americans now are "urban"; they must buy what they need; they must pay even for sunlight and play space for their children, for the opportunity to live among congenial people in a "nice" neighborhood; they must pay carfare to get to and from work, or to get to the beach on a Sunday, or to take the children to the park or the movies to keep them off the dangerous streets. It is this translation of the American family income from one which comes in terms of the products of the family's own labor, where space and sunlight and fuel can be taken for granted, to one which must be measured in cash and what cash will buy, that is driving the women of the family, who were producing members under the old order, to adapt themselves to the intricate cogs of the new industrialized society.

A good deal has been said and written of the way in which the industrial process has undermined the old duties of the housewife, "robbing" her at once of much productive activity and "freeing" her from the work which machines can do more surely and accurately. But except in Alice Beal Parsons' recent book, Woman's Dilemma, I know of practically no discussion of the result of this process for the *men* of the family. Gradually, in the conventional order, the husband-father has come to find himself the sole support of the family. On the farm, even in the village and town, the wife's work has a decided economic significance. Often the chores done by the children count in the same way. But in the cities, after a few years of intensive child care, the wife at home adds little to the family's resources by her work.

When you have to *buy* fruit as well as sugar, and to pay for the gas for cooking, why bother to make jam and jelly and preserves? They can be bought for not a great deal more than the retail cost of ingredients, from the factories which purchase wholesale and manufacture with economics of large-scale production. Why stew over the spring and fall dressmaking, when for a few dollars more than the cost of materials and patterns you can get the things ready-made according to the styles which have been originated by a specialist? Whichever way you figure it, the greatest part of the outlay is in cash; the work in the home, by an unspecialized jill-of-all-trades, brings an almost negligible saving. And so the woman becomes chiefly a kind of family purchasing agent, with shopping as a major vocation, saving pennies here and there, adding chiefly in a negative way to the economic well-being of the family.



Two million wives gainfully employed, as listed by the U. S. Census of 1920

WHEN the newly-weds of this year were children, Simon N. Patten made a prophetic analysis of this process. "Forty years ago," he wrote in The Independent of February 17, 1910, "a man could live comfortably on $1,000 a year. Under the magic of his wife's hand this $1,000 became $1,500 or $2,000. The wife created more value by industry in the home than her husband did out of it. . . . Now all things are done outside the home and must be purchased with the $1,000 income. The wife no longer contributes to the family income by creating values, and with the increased standards of elaborate dressing, she is often its chief burden."

Dr. Patten maintained that the homes of the middle classes, transformed by the industrial revolution, had become places where "the low paid employe can succeed as well alone as with a wife" (The Independent, December 1, 1904); while further down the economic scale "it is plainly bad economy to assign a person who has proven capacity in world goods to the sole task of spending an income so low that no choices or saving can be made on it; it is adding another expensive middle-man to distribution."

An indignant chorus will insist that money is not everything; that there are intangible values in the constant presence of the "homemaker" which are not to be measured in cash. Undoubtedly the life of any family is the richer for the concentration of an interested adult, male or female, upon the intangibles. But most of us must consider the business of living before we can afford to think about the art of living. Until money for essentials, at least, is in sight even the interested homemaker's attention is likely to be concentrated on the petty tangibles of economies of the cash-and-carry store, dragging the baby along as she shops, rather than upon the child's recreational needs at that moment.

And many of the former intanggibles, such as the children's health and their play, analyzed according to the cold light of modern scientific understanding, cannot be provided in toto by the love of the most devoted parent. A needed tonsil and adenoid operation for example must be considered in terms of cash. To live near the park usually costs more money than in less desirable neighborhoods.

It is this relentless process of the specialization of modern living, and its translation into

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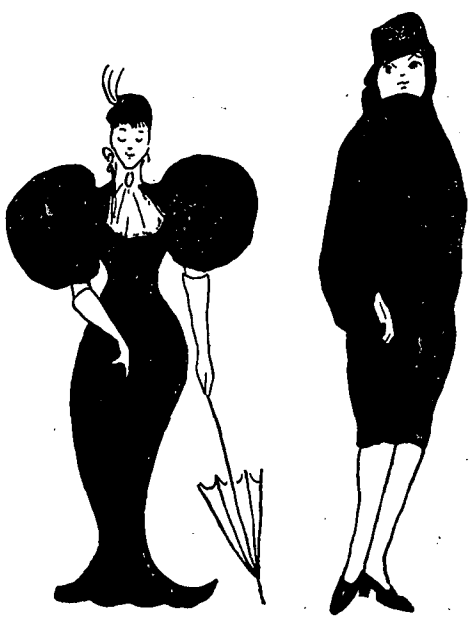
things to be bought, which lies behind the plight of the would-be middle-class, forcing even married women whose wages are not essential for mere bread and butter to realize that the family cannot do without productive work on their part, and that means specialized work which they can do well enough to be paid for it.

The mounting census statistics of employed married women do not indicate an army of sex-conscious, self-expressing feminists. The woman who knows what she wants to do, and can do it, is as exceptional as the man who has the ability and the opportunity to work in a definite professional field. Most of the women, as most of the men, must muddle along, accepting the best which chance offers, adjusting as best they can to the demands of living and the chances which come. Like my friends Gladys and Lucy, for example.

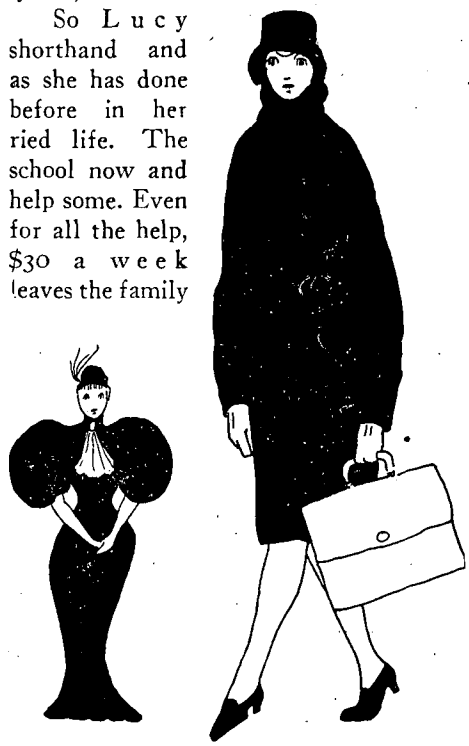
Gladys ran a switchboard for five years after high school until Harry came along. His $45 a week looked almost twice as large as her $25, and think of not having to get in the subway jam at 8:30! So she retired to her neat, varnished little flat, and bought some cute bungalow aprons and studied cooking for two with fervor. The girls came to see her evenings and on Saturday afternoons and Sundays, but all day long, after the beds were made and the breakfast dishes washed, there wasn't much to do except shop and dash home to a solitary but economical lunch on the laundry tub, rather than to invest in expensive sociability at the soda counter. Then her successor at the office was taken ill, and she came back "temporarily." The temporary job stretched on; Gladys found that $70 a week was a lot pleasanter than $45. It was grand, too, to be back with the bunch. Now a much-desired baby is imminent. Everyone expected that Gladys would make another and final disappearance. But not so. "If you'll hold my job for four months," said Gladys, "I'm coming back. My mother's just crazy about taking care of kids, and the money I can give her means a lot at home. And say, I spent my vacation at home cleaning up the place and making baby clothes, and for me there's *nothing in it.*"



Between 1890 and 1920 the proportion of single women gainfully employed (including the widowed and divorced) increased 21 per cent—

LUCY is unlike Gladys in that she really likes to potter around the house. She is never happier than in the moment when she places a superlatively roasted chicken on the table, or buttons one of her offspring into a new, home-made dress. Had she been trained, Lucy's talent for designing clothes might easily bring high sums, but she married young and her only marketable skill is stenography. Lucy and her husband want to hear good music, see good plays, and read the new books. But his excellent education does not seem to be translatable in market terms; the fair salary he earns has never been more than enough to cover routine needs, and in crises, when a child has been seriously ill, it falls lamentably short.

So Lucy brushes up the shorthand and goes back to a job, as she has done three or four times before in her ten years of married life. The children are in school now and her mother can help some. Even if she had to pay for all the help, she figures that her $30 a week when she works leaves the family better off financially than if she stayed at home to save. She would rather stay at home, if it could be done with provision for necessities and a modest margin for emergencies and recreation and sociability; but when it means anxiety, insecurity, and isolation—well, she is glad she *can* get a job. She wants the children to have more opportunity than she had—she guesses that now she is back at work for good, or at least until they are educated.



—the proportion of married women increased 100 per cent

SUCH, if I interpret correctly that single comprehensive source of information about working women—the Census—must be the kind of story behind many a woman in that growing army of the gainfully employed. Contrary to popular impression, the large majority (68 per cent) of employed women are native-born; almost half of them (43 per cent) are of native parentage; the greater number (56 per cent) are more than twenty-five years old. While the proportion of employed women has been actually declining among the foreign-born and among Negroes, it proceeds steadily upward among the native-born, particularly in certain occupations, and in many of these the increase of married workers is very much more rapid than that of the women workers as a whole.

During the last decade for which statistics are available, 1910-20, the number of women engaged in agriculture and domestic service decreased by 36 per cent and 12 per cent while the numbers of married women in these classes declined 46 per cent and 3 per cent. These are the occupations associated with farm and village life and with the individual home. (Part of the decrease in agricultural labor may be due to a change in the date at which the Census was taken, in view of the seasonal nature of the work.) At the same time, the number of women engaged in manu-

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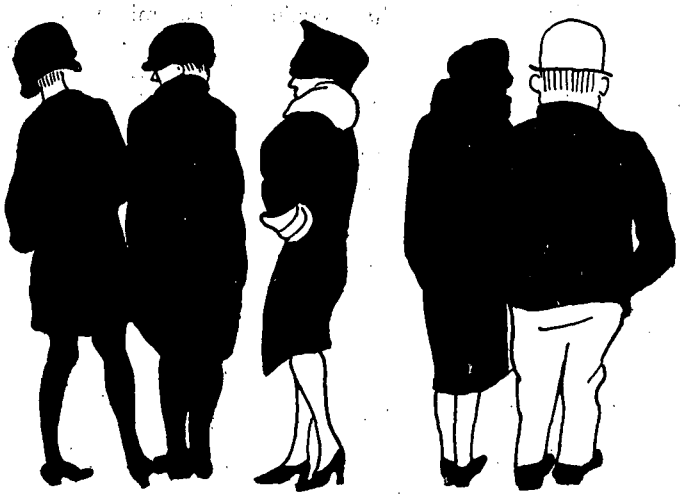
facturing and mechanical industries increased almost negligibly, .7 per cent, but the number of *married* women in this group increased 41 per cent; in occupations connected with trade there was an increase of 47 per cent for all women and of 88 per cent for married women; in professional service the number of all women employed increased 38 per cent, and of married women by 62 per cent; while in clerical occupations the increase for the whole group was 141 per cent; and that for the married women 290 per cent.



Of women breadwinners in the U. S. one in four has a husband

Analyses by age groups shows that it is to the specialized jobs in the cities, in factories and offices, that the younger women are turning. In clerical work and in professional service women almost equalled the men in numbers in 1920. And it is in just these occupations that the numbers of *married* women are increasing at the most rapid rates. The tendency of American girls in the cities is, apparently, to take specialized jobs and to stay in them, whether by preference or necessity, as they marry, through the years when children or parents must be supported.

In a recent thoughtful paper (The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1926) Dr. Louis I. Dublin points out one factor which is contributing to the increasing entrance of women into outside work. This is education. In 1890 there were 163,000 girls in secondary schools in this country; in 1924, 1,963,000. In 1890 there were 84,000 women in the colleges and normal schools; in 1924, just short of 450,000. Thus during a period in which the population of the United States was not quite doubled, the number of girls in high schools was multiplied by twelve, and the number of girls in colleges and normal schools by more than five. American girls receive as great educational opportunity as do American boys. An increasing number are so trained that a choice is possible between work within and work outside their homes.

Two other factors in the increasing outside occupation of women seem to me at least equally significant: the increasing length of life which the average American, man or woman, has gained during the past half century, and the declining birthrates and infant and child deathrates. American women have more years of adult life than did their grandmothers, and fewer and healthier children. Taken together, these two facts effect a very material change in the *proportion* of her working life which a woman spends in her unique job of bearing and rearing children.

We all know the mute stories of the New England graveyards and the old family Bibles, telling of women worn out while still young by excessive child-bearing and child-losing, leaving behind them two or three living children out of perhaps half a dozen to be brought up by a second wife. Yet the lack of an accurate accounting of birth and death makes difficult an exact general statement. The outstanding student of life expectancy in this country, Dr. Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, estimates that in the past half century the average American life-span has been increased by about 15 years. During that time the general deathrate in New York City has been reduced by 59 per cent; the deathrate of children under five, by 81 per cent.

The most spectacular saving of life has been that of young children. No longer does it seem necessary to have four or five children to make sure of keeping two or three. The birthrate in the United States did not become a matter of official record until 1915, but the most accurate computations possible seem to indicate that among the white population it has dropped from about 37 per thousand in 1872 to 21.8 in 1922. Yet the gain in life and in vigor is not confined to the children or even to young people. Another computation by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company shows that in even the group which is thought to have been least affected by the discoveries and practices in public health—that of people between 45 and 65 years of age—there was in New York State a reduction of 10 per cent in the deathrate of men, and of 11.6 per cent in the deathrate of women between 1900 and 1923.

WHAT the shift has meant in the lives of women perhaps can be realized from the English records, which are generally comparable to those of the native white stock in this country. Under the conditions prevailing in 1838-1854 in England, only three-quarters of the girl babies born alive lived to be five years old; only half lived to be 46. Under the conditions of health and disease which existed in 1910-1912, three-quarters will live to the age 40 and half to the age of 65.

No "average" experience in the book-keeping of life can be computed, of course, but it seems fair to suppose that many a grandmother of the present younger American generation spent eight or nine out of twenty adult years in bearing and nursing her children, while her granddaughter is spending perhaps three or four out of forty. Furthermore, there is no such pressing need of a reserve supply of maiden aunts and other useful relatives to bring up other people's motherless children. Indirectly as well as directly, women have been released from this unique task for many years of adult life which may be devoted to other activities.

To the aid of the modern mother there has come also an armament of social resources to help in the upbringing of her children which were unknown a generation ago: the baby health station, the public kindergarten, the public school and its health clinics, the public health nurse, the help of experts in the growth, the behavior, and the needs of children. While in city homes the opportunities for play have been limited, there has passed out of the home into the hands of specialists much responsibility which once was that of the mother alone and unaided.

Hand in hand with the more or less demonstrable increase in the need for women's work away from their families, and their opportunities for it, there is also the force of their changing desires and ideals for their own lives. We have passed, I think, the day of the eager propa-

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Even Thirty Years Ago

"WOMAN'S sphere!," said that pioneer champion of her sex, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, addressing an audience at the Metropolitan Opera House on her eightieth birthday, November 12, 1894, "that ground has been traveled over so often that there is not a single tree nor flower nor blade of grass to be found anywhere. Yet excursions of men are continually going to survey that old worn-out land. Ever since Eve left Paradise the trend of thought has been in the direction of woman's sphere. Those who could write in prose or verse have written about it; those who could orate have talked about it. Statesmen have declared its limits in laws and constitutions; bishops in Scriptures and sermons; editors in journals, and scientists in osseous formations, musles, nerves, and the size and quality of the feminine brain. . . .

"Those who will make some logical concessions must admit that wherever woman has been and maintained a foothold, and whatever she has done and done well, it must have been the 'Creator's intentions' that she should occupy that position and do that special work. Unless you admit this, you impeach the wisdom of the Creator and exalt the woman as able to set at defiance the laws of her being. While everything in the universe moves according to immutable law, the sun, the moon, the stars and every planet revolving in its own elliptic, the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, all in their appointed places, moving in harmony together, how can woman get out of her sphere?

"We see that women need no longer knit or weave, make butter or cheese. Cunning arms and fingers of steel now do it all. Women need no longer cook or wash or iron, or bake or brew; for men do it all in restaurants, laundries, bakeries and breweries. Women need no longer sew, for with cunning machines men now make underclothes for women and children, and even the man-milliner bonnets are superior to what women themselves can produce.

"The question is no longer the sphere of a whole sex, but of each individual. Women are now in the trades and professions, everywhere in the world of work. They have shown their capacity as students in the sciences, their skill as mariners before the mast, their courage as rescuers in life boats. They are close on the heels of man in the arts, sciences, and literature; in their knowledge and understanding of the vital questions of the hour and in the every-day practical duties of life. Like man, woman's sphere is in the whole universe of matter and mind, to do whatever she can, and thus prove 'the intentions of the Creator.'"

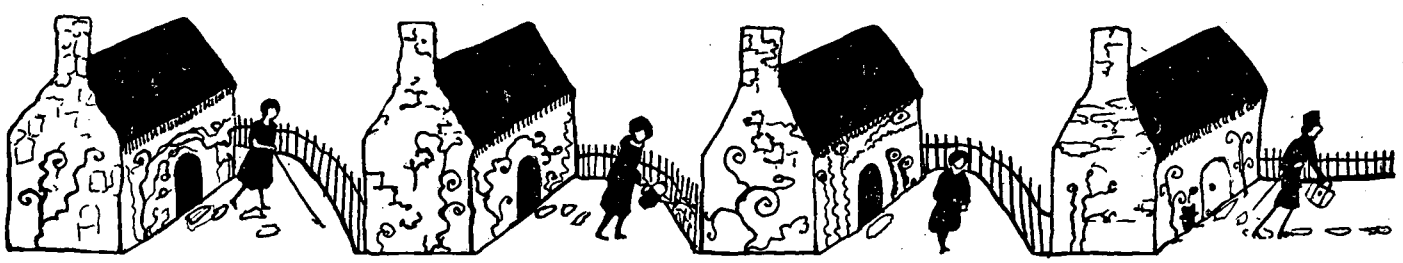
gandists who chanted the need for "self-expression," the era of the kind of feminists who have been defined as "women who make a fuss about working." In any case, the number of women who were free to choose a type of work for sheer love of it (and the number of men also) has always been negligible. Pounding a typewriter, running a machine, is no less monotonous than the daily dusting and dishwashing. But the office or factory job has the advantage of a social setting, of a touch-and-go companionship with others, a change of scene during the day.

The farmhouse with its large families who worked in and about the place, and with the neighbors or hired help in for the crises, and the pageant of the seasons passing outside the windows, was a far less lonely place than the empty flat with a panorama of roof-tops or even the commuter's bungalow after the man has gone for the day and the children are at school. It is this kind of loneliness that sends women out upon aimless window-shopping expeditions or bridge-parties and matinees, if they have the price. Girls who have gone from school into the whirring activity of a large organization think longingly of peaceful days at home, but when they achieve them, they are likely to want to get back with the bunch, to have some contact with a busy and talkative world other than the grocer and a tired husband.

And at the same time, far below any conscious desire for "economic independence" I believe that there is an impulse for partnership in marriage, for the feeling that the man and the woman are working together, both contributing to the support of the family (as they both did in pioneer families), which has been weakened by the new family economics in which one earns and the other spends; one creates leisure and the other enjoys it.

The census tides showing the increasing employment of women, and especially of married women, reflect not the results of propaganda or opinion or even, in the large sense, of conscious volition, but the groping of hundreds of thousands of people toward some new alignment of the fundamentals of work, love and play which will meet the demands which life puts upon them, for themselves and for their families. Such a shift, like all social evolution, is made at the sacrifice of some, at a terrific cost to others. What lies behind it? What ahead? Could the process be stemmed, if we wished to stop it? If it is desirable or inevitable, can it be directed and controlled so that its burdens will be minimized, its benefits increased? By a process of open-minded inquiry, not in the deceptive light of personal or social prejudice, we must meet one of the most vexing questions of this generation:

Is economic support of the family a normal and continuing part of the lives of women as well as of men?



Of American women over 15 years of age one in four is a breadwinner

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Wasting Women

By STUART CHASE

Drawings by Esther Andrews

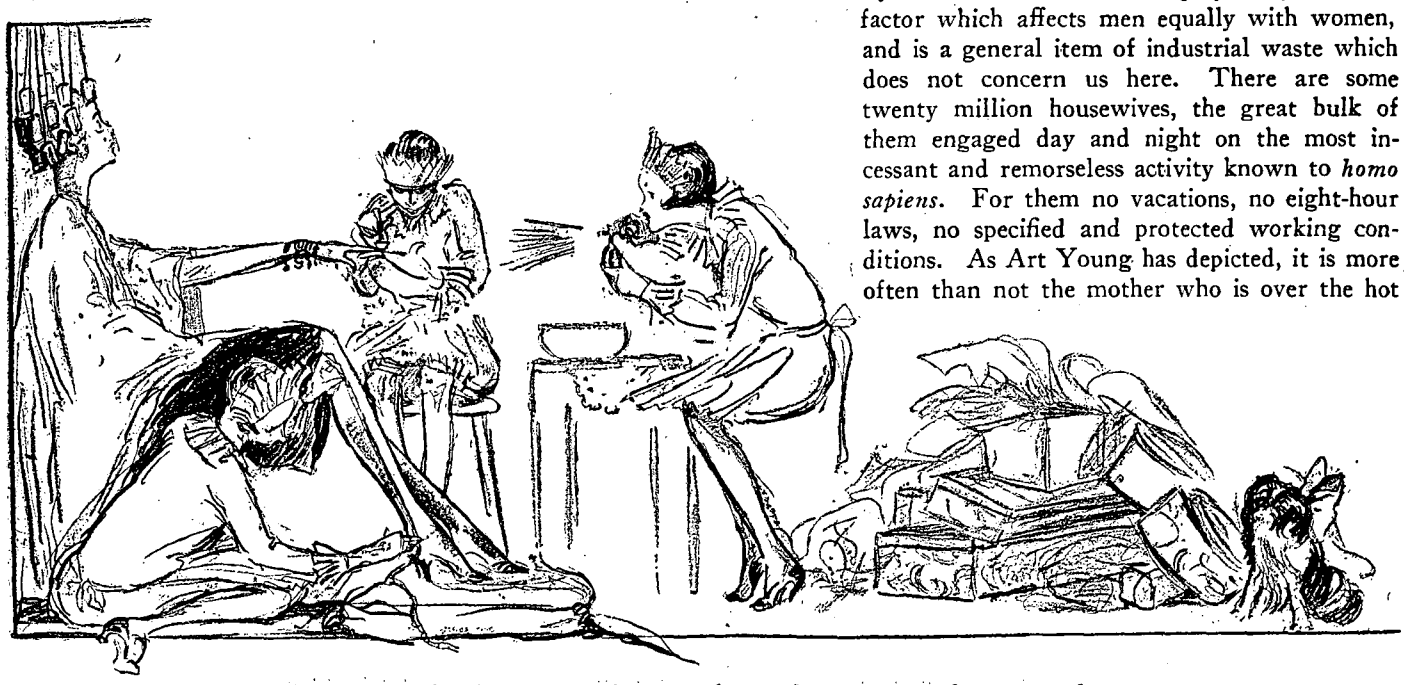
MISS ANITA LOOS in Gentlemen Prefer Blondes has, with a felicity altogether charming, and a sociological penetration altogether devastating, stolen most of my thunder. There is very little more to say. About all the humdrum economist can do is wander among the wreckage, pile the debris into heaps, and tell objectively what Miss Loos has described with far greater acuteness, subjectively. True, the dull fellow must shift the incidence a little. The waste of women to him is not so much the profession of the beautiful gold-digger—prostitution and its allied trades was an old story when civilization first rose on the banks of the Euphrates—but rather the economic behavior of the lady in her moments of leisure.

Particularly and specifically he would examine "shopping" in its wider social aspects. For shopping is not confined to ladies whose moral codes are piquant, but to the great bulk of women who have been thrown, by the convulsions of the going economic system, clear of the necessity of doing anything useful. We might roughly set the line at ten thousand dollars a year. Women whose means of support from husbands, relatives, lovers, trust funds, exceed this amount, stand as it were on the brink of the delightful abyss of shopping; and most of them take the plunge. Than which nothing could be more human, and, in the last analysis, more wasteful. For shopping, alas, does not stop with the ladies above the ten-thousand-dollar line. They erect standards which are followed, class by economic class, down to the ten-hundred-dollar line—adulteration increasing inversely with the income level. Wrist watches from Tiffany come at last to wrist watches in the five- and ten-cent stores. It is probable, furthermore, that there is more waste in the imitations than in the real thing.

Waste, as I choose to define that ambiguous word, is, from the economic point of view, any employment of man power (which includes woman power generically), or any use of natural resources, for the satisfaction of ends which do not satisfy. We all must have the necessities of life and we would like, and ought to have, the comforts. Modern technology has brought comforts within the reach of all potentially, if not actually. We like to express our personalities in our dress, in our house decorations, in our manners, in a hundred ways. There is no reason why we should not do so. Many of us like music, the theatre, good books, exhibitions of painting, artistic things generally. We ought to have more of them. I hold no brief for a strict utilitarian definition of waste. Waste comes into the picture with super-luxuries, sheer swank, artificially and commercially stimulated fashion changes, and with the blind effort of keeping up with the Joneses, when the Joneses know a good deal about money but nothing about taste.

From the economic point of view, there are four main channels which give rise to loss leakage and friction in the time and activity of women. They are, seriatim: idleness; over consumption, unintelligent consumption, "shopping"; an inefficient domestic plant, mis-directed effort.

IDLENESS need not detain us long. It is limited to a relatively small group as compared to the total population of the United States. There are some ten million women in industry and while they are idle from time to time due to cyclical and seasonal unemployment, this is a factor which affects men equally with women, and is a general item of industrial waste which does not concern us here. There are some twenty million housewives, the great bulk of them engaged day and night on the most incessant and remorseless activity known to *homo sapiens*. For them no vacations, no eight-hour laws, no specified and protected working conditions. As Art Young has depicted, it is more often than not the mother who is over the hot



The latest development in this age of specialization is stockings to order

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stove all day while pa is down in the nice cool sewer. Finally the income tax returns report a small group, about 300,000 persons, with incomes of $10,000 or more.

In this group are a certain number of women who are idle from the economic standpoint. For the goods and services which society furnishes them, they furnish nothing, and often worse than nothing, in return. Many women of means are excellent housekeepers, sound educators of their children, useful members of their community. But perhaps an even larger fraction—particularly in that critical period when the children have grown up or have gone away to school—is idle in the full economic sense of the term. They bridge, they run up prices of early American furniture and Sandwich glass, they raid Europe, they talk—my God, now they talk, they putter around, they have been known to pet, they dress, dress, dress. They are the chief support of the flourishing industry of the higher astrology, among whose ornaments was Oom the Omnipotent, the Yogi from Kansas, whose career through the drawing-rooms and boudoirs of New York is still a spicy memory. And, by virtue of their idleness, they set the level of shopping which holds in subjection thirty million of their sisters the country over, from beautiful gold diggers to scullery maids and heavy-footed Scandinavian farmwives, spelling out Sears Roebuck catalogues amid the level and unending wheat.

WHAT the economic structure loses from the sheer fact that these women are idle—say 200,000 of them—is something of course, but it is only a drop in the bucket as compared to the waste which their conspicuous consumption, as Veblen puts it, entails. Suppose we light a cigarette, settle more comfortably in our chair, and slowly turn the pages of one of the great hand-books of fashion, which, in order to float their advertising, contain a picture or two, a story or two, and a verse or two, buried somewhere in their equatorial sections. Vanity Fair will do, or Harper's Bazaar, or Vogue. Here in the advertising pages, the appeal to over-consumption is direct, naked—the word is used advisedly—and unashamed. If one were to seek the single document which best expressed the culture complex which crowns a century of steam power, one would not need to go further than this solid sheaf of pulp wood.

If your motor car has a long and haughty hood, and your clothes bear Paris labels, and your home is eloquent of faultless taste, here you will find your sort of foot wear.

Here are M. Corday's superlative lipsticks, and M. Corday's *"toujours moi"* perfume. Here is a lady tall as only a futurist painter can make her in a writhing curve of white ermine against a black and silver tropic night.

Cheerio—Here's to the Players who animate the Game—the Game which animates the Audience—the Audience which animates Smart Sports Clothes which animate Altman's Sportswear Department with reproductions of models from Worth, Lanvin, Jenny, Regny, Goupy, Martial et Armand, Chanel!

Beneath the shining, supple undulation of Eugene permanent waves.

Panama sandals gay with hand painted flowers.

Curvfit, a razor for a woman, her very own, made especially to fit the curves of the body.

The revealed knee must now be covered with lovely silk.

Fisher bodies.

You can never have Perfect Ovals and Half Moons if you neglect to shape the Cuticle.

Certain fortunate women take the world's best automobile for granted, as they do gowns and jewels from Rue de la Paix . . . the mellow glow of old masters on their walls . . . the friendship of famous people. The Rolls Royce moves as gracefully through a world of social prominence as they do themselves.

A provocative Parfum! Voluptuous! Exotic! Imbued with all the glamour of the Orient.

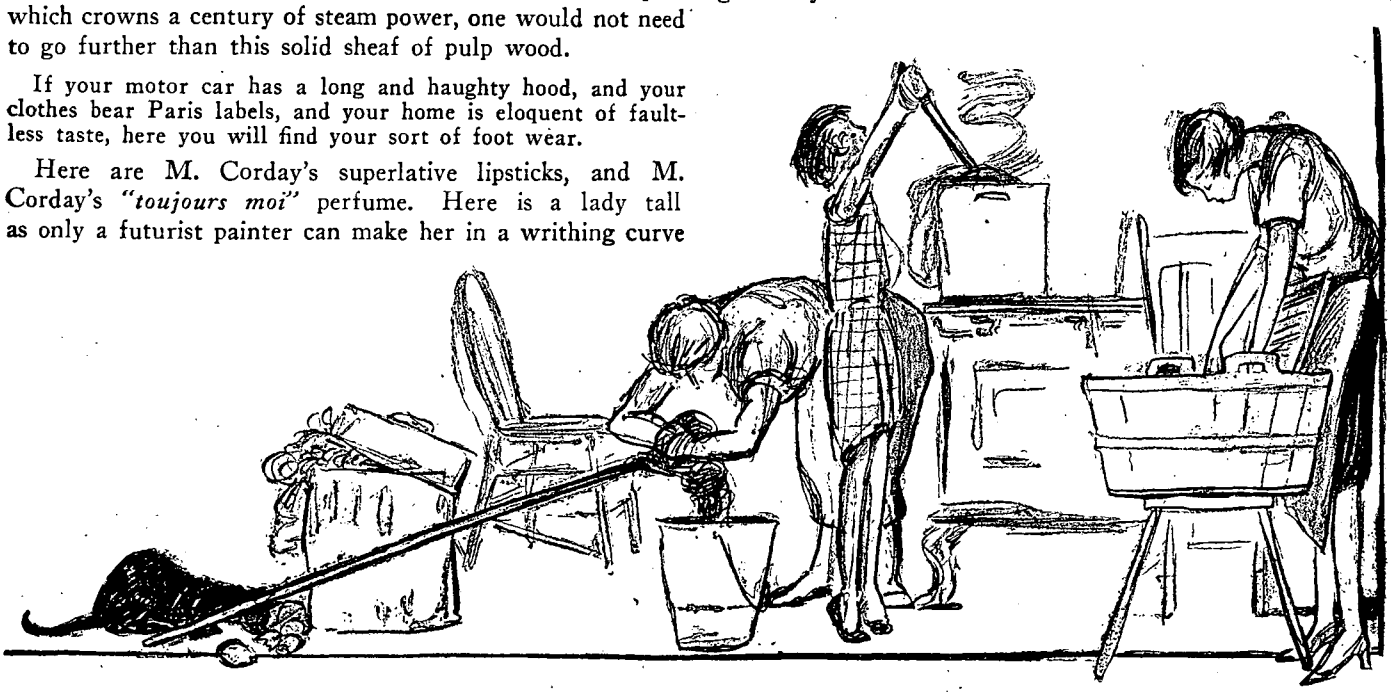
Pearl necklaces up to $200,000. Single pearls up to $20,000.

For the boy between two and six, you may find striped broadcloths or striped silk pajamas from England with tailored dressing gowns to match. You will see silk-lined bathrobes of red and white or blue and white checked flannel, or dressing gowns of silky Rodier fabrics. Fastidious young women of the same age may have their body waists and panties of pink crepe de Chine, discreetly embroidered. As for the babies, from Normandie carriage sets of embroidered lace and net to their dresses from Belgium and France, all is elegance.

The latest development in this age of specialization is New York's resolution to make stockings to individual order. Measurements will be taken in the shop (by girls we are carefully informed) and in three weeks stockings will be delivered that are guaranteed to fit every curve and dimple.

For the exotic, there is *"Midi-Cinq"* in a small vial with a glass stopper to run along your cigarette before it is lighted to give forth an exquisite perfume.

That all of these advertised things are waste, it would be nonsense to assume. Many represent sound comforts, many give expression to the buyer's personality, many are genuinely artistic and beautiful. In themselves. But the



Finally, we have the waste of women's labor in the home

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total effect is neither art nor the expression of individual personality, nor comfort or convenience—it is pecuniary emulation. The best advertising copy is snob copy, though the snobbery is seldom direct but delicately implied. These arresting pictures, these glowing sentences, have just two basic messages: Buy me and knock 'em for a row of goals; buy me and keep up with the procession!

In addition to the man power and materials which pecuniary emulation and conspicuous consumption waste—including not only the shopping of the rich but the imitation and adulteration all down the line—there are certain by-products of the process which the student of caste cannot fail to note. There is the pressure on husbands to make money, more of it and more of it, lest milady falter in the remorseless march. This leads to an attitude not over scrupulous as to how the money is made, and what is worse, sometimes crucifies a potential artist or scientist or statesman or musician, upon a cross of gold. That Mr. George F. Babbitt is the ostensible ideal of the American husband is clear enough; that he is the real ideal is not so clear. Even Babbitt himself, in his cups, looked wistfully back to the day he was orator of his college class.

There is again the almost limitless damage that wealthy women can do when they give way to philanthropic yearnings. Again, as in the case of the consumer vs. shopper, we must distinguish between the woman who is neighbor to her community and the charity gadabout. There may be more degrading symbols than Lady Bountiful, but such have never come to my attention. As the ninth generation of a New England family, I had rather be cut with sharp knives than be patronized. And somehow, perhaps wrongheadedly, I feel that this ought to be the universal attitude. It is shopping not in duvetyn but in human beings.

FINALLY we have the waste of women's labor in the home—the bent backs, the sunken eyes, the fatal deliveries, the tired hands, which never need to have been, had an age of applied technology given half the attention to a kitchen sink that it gave to a bomb fuse. Depreciation of mill machinery is spread on all the books of account, but depreciation of overworked mothers is never reckoned. True, the movies and our popular newspaper poets never fail to give mother her due in lush and heavy sentiment, but sentiment is a poor hand-maiden around an ill ventilated and ill designed house. Up to ten years ago, no engineer apparently had ever got nearer a kitchen than the dining room. Right lately some attention is being paid to it, but the benefits to date have flowed almost altogether into the homes of the well-to-do—who hire help to work in their kitchens anyway. For nineteen out of the twenty million, the house is fifty years behind the technical arts, and the waste of sheer muscle would defy a dozen Niagaras.

Hildegarde Kneeland of the Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture has outlined the main leakages in domestic economy as follows, the supporting comments being mine:

1. *Excess capacity and duplication of equipment.* 20,000,000 cook stoves; laundry equipment only used once a week; cooperative nursery failures.

2. *Inefficient equipment due to small production units.* Most kitchen stoves are, in the words of H. G. Wells, "unintelligent lumps of iron." Oil stoves and many furnaces and gas stoves have a scandalously low thermal efficiency.

3. *Mishandling of equipment due to untrained workers*—particularly household servants. It has been found that brides with a nice sense in selecting a personality perfume or even a body by Fisher, are not always so happy in their selection of cooking utensils and cleaning equipment.

4. *Waste of fuel and supplies due to small units and untrained management.*

5. *Inefficient delivery of household supplies.* Half-loaded milk-wagons, grocery wagons, ice wagons competing up the same streets, boosting delivery costs. The city of Rochester found that a unified milk delivery service would save the consumer nearly three cents a quart on milk.

6. *Inefficient purchasing of supplies due to lack of standards for, and training of, housewives.* The United States government tests the great bulk of the products which it buys in the laboratories of the Bureau of Standards. The result is a saving of at least $100,000,000 a year on textiles, building materials, foodstuffs, office supplies, clothing, disinfectants, cleaning equipment, what not. If these tests could be made available to the domestic consumer the country over, they might go far to undermine the blah of advertising as the sole guide to the housewife's purchases. Billions could be saved by consumers by this technique.

7. *Elaboration of standards*—service plates, table layout, starch, silver, linen, china, hangings,—all the useless paraphernalia involving extra cleaning and care which "nice" people demand. This over and above utility and art.

8. *Inefficient cleaning methods.* Little is known concerning the relation between cleaning processes and health. It is now largely a matter of ritual especially in dusting and polishing. Typical house construction greatly increases the labor of cleaning.

9. *Maladjustment between work and individual aptitudes of household workers.* Square pegs in round holes. It is assumed that all women are born housekeepers; an assumption so unwarranted as to lead to untold friction and waste. When one contemplates the digestions which have been ruined, the children who have been spoiled, the husbands who have become bilious and embittered, the wives whose nervous mechanism has collapsed—all because women have been jammed in the home (themselves assisting) who do not belong in the home, one wonders if there is not more waste here than in all the gigantic mechanism of shopping. Gentlemen may prefer blondes—but not always in the kitchen and the nursery.

There are, in conclusion, four things which will go far to abate the waste of women. First, more equality in income levels, tending to break down economic class distinctions and so achieve some surcease in the blighting struggle to keep up with the Joneses. Second, more knowledge generally diffused as to the real utility and durability of the goods we buy—more laboratories and less competitive advertising. As women buy 90 per cent of all articles for ultimate consumption, the gain will be chiefly in their sphere. Third, the application of science and technology to the home—its construction, its heating, ventilation, cooking devices, cleaning apparatus and particularly the possibilities of cooperation in child care, food preparation, laundry services, with other homes in the same community. And finally, a wider diffusion of the new and shattering conception that all women are not born homemakers but may have equally valuable gifts for other fields, may deflect many a square peg from a round hole, lighten an incalculable load of current unhappiness, and make tens of thousands of useful rather than wasted lives.

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Mother and Child, *by Mary Cassatt* — *Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Mary Cassatt

1847—1926

A FEW years ago, standing before one of her own mother-and-child canvases, Mary Cassatt said to a young American woman painter, "You must choose. You can't be a painter and a mother too. Have you made your choice?"

"Yes," came the twentieth century reply, "I choose both!"

And she did. Whether wisely or not, or successfully or not, remains still to be seen.

What has been seen, and proved brilliantly, is that Mary Cassatt herself, by her devotion to her art; by her wise decision to do her work in what to her was the most congenial atmosphere (as it happened, France); and by her great native talent, came to be easily one of the half dozen most important figures in the history of modern American painting.

I say modern advisedly. For, though Mary Cassatt's work is wholly un-modern in the current use of that word, it is my belief that, when modern painting comes in for historical appraisal, the Impressionists, of which she was so to say a charter member, will be seen to be not only the founders of it all, but the most revolutionary group of painters the world has known for three centuries.

It should be remembered that when the Impressionists first showed their work at Durand-Ruel's in Paris the frames of their pictures were strewn with sous in denunciation of "this crazy pistol painting." Mary Cassatt had the vision to be among the crazy. She had the good sense to select one of them, Degas, as her master. And then—she had the gift to be herself.

American women who are sex-proud can afford to rejoice over the achievement of this rather prim, rather emphatic Philadelphia aristocrat, sister of a president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who in spite of the French titles of her pictures and her French residence, belongs by the spirit of her work and its supreme craftsmanship to her native land.

ROBERT HALLOWELL.

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Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago

THE TOILET by Mary Cassatt

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Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

MOTHER AND CHILD by Mary Cassatt

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Courtesy of Durand-Ruel

MOTHER AND CHILD by Mary Cassatt

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Mothers Who Earn

By HELEN GLENN TYSON

Of one thing we can be sure: the mother works because she has to work, and unless some other method of raising the family income is devised, she is in industry to stay

IN the old pre-suffrage days we used to speak with a kind of exultation of the fact that woman's work had in large part been taken out of the home, and that she was rapidly following it into the world of industry. Undoubtedly, even to the industrial mother this changed status of the home has brought tremendous gains, in freedom from the old household drudgery, in a varied diet, in cheaper and better goods. Three vital facts, however, we sometimes forget: that for the first time in the world's history, when the mother goes forth to work, the children are left behind; that the work she has "followed" out of the home is no longer "her" work—she has little or no control over her hours of labor, wages, or working conditions; that her work and the materials she uses in it have no longer any connection whatever with her other main responsibility in life, the rearing and training of children. This final point is true even of the woman who earns at home; there is no child-training material to be found in the day's task of the industrial home-worker; "sewing on pants" and child-care are mutually exclusive, and one is done at the expense of the other.

With the results of these three problems in the life of the industrial mother society must somehow reckon. To be sure, they affect mothers in the professions as well. However, the professional woman, with superior training, a greater knowledge and control of community resources, and a higher economic status, can make for herself and her children far better adjustments than the industrial mother, whose knowledge is limited and whose need is pressing. The rather dramatic entrance of married women into the professions has tended to overshadow the importance of that quieter but equally significant trend—the entrance of the mother into industry. Numerically, at least, this latter group far outstrip their more privileged sisters. The 1920 Census showed nearly two million married women "gainfully employed" in all occupations. For every married woman in the professions there were more than five in manufacturing, trade and transportation, five in domestic and personal service, and three in agriculture.

UNTIL very recently authoritative material relating to the working mother has been almost negligible. To be sure, settlement workers and family agencies have always been keenly conscious of the gravity of her need; and day nurseries have sprung up here and there to care for her neglected children. Among organized groups of single women there have been outbursts of antagonistic feeling when married women hold desirable jobs, and, in times of economic stress, the fact that they hold jobs at all is bitterly resented. But working women in America and students of industry as well have as yet seemed almost unconscious of the fact workers in England have at last recognized—that masses of women in this country spend their entire lives in industry, whether they marry or not; and that even mothers may have but brief periods in the home at the time of childbirth.

Then, too, in direct contrast with the professional woman, the industrial mother by her own mental attitude has helped to obscure the extent and gravity of her problem. Reticent, uncomplaining, intensely individualistic, she has rather sought to avoid attention by her silence and by such bits of protective coloring as the "Miss" before her name. She has asked no favors. She has shown no consciousness of being a factor in a great industrial change; nor has she shared the elation of her educated sister at the achievement of "economic independence."

With the widespread practice of family limitation there is reason to think that in time the married mother in industry will be set off as a separate statistical category from the married woman. At present, however, it is impossible to tell from census figures how many of these married women have children; intensive studies in different localities have been needed to determine that. Then, too, the Census uses the term "married women" to denote only those women who are actually living with their husbands. In Philadelphia, in a study of 728 working mothers made in 1919 by Gwendolyn S. Hughes under the joint auspices of the Seybert Institution and the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Bryn Mawr College (Mothers in Industry: New Republic, Inc., $1.00), only 328 women were living with husbands, while 400 belonged in the once-married group of the widowed, divorced and deserted. In contrast, in Passaic, N. J., almost 80 per cent of the working mothers were living with their husbands.

A FULL consideration of mothers who are "gainfully employed" would have to cover a much larger number than those in mills and factories. All through the states they are scattered: the coal miner's wife, whose one chance to add to the family income is by taking single miners to board; the industrial home worker, in that shifting fringe of sweated labor as yet little touched by protective legislation; the "day's work" woman in the cities; the mother toiling with her children in the beet-fields of the West; the night-working mother who cleans office-buildings after hours. In contrast with some of these, the regularly employed mother in industry, aside from the fact that she is separated from her children during the day would seem to belong to a favored group. Her earnings are better, her hours shorter, her work-conditions are more apt to be good. It is about her, too, that most of our scanty facts center.

The causes which take mothers into industry are of course infinitely complex. The National Y.W.C.A. in a study nearing completion lists fourteen—ranging from dependent widowhood to "lonesomeness." While secondary

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considerations play a part, the chief factor is of course the economic one. Mothers work because they must. In the Philadelphia group of 725 who reported their reasons for going to work, 22 per cent were widows, 24 per cent deserted or receiving no support, 14 per cent had husbands who were ill. These three groups made up 60 per cent of the total, and beyond question were working through economic need. The remaining number included 29 per cent who were supplementing the insufficient wages of the husbands, and 11 per cent who claimed to "prefer" to work. There was little question as to the reality of the claim of insufficient wage—three-fifths of the husbands in this group of 247 earned less than $25 a week. A few of the remaining families in this class, as well as the "preference" group, were working for more than the bare necessities of life. My friend Mrs. Kendrick belongs in this latter group, and because she is in many ways typical of a large number of working mothers her home-economy may be worth description:

After finishing grade school Mrs. Kendrick worked in a stocking factory before her marriage and up to the time her first baby was born. A second child came within a year; after that, Mrs. Kendrick says frankly, they decided that two children were "enough for working people." When the younger child was of kindergarten age Mrs. Kendrick went back to the factory. She is a very energetic woman and plans to give both children at least a high school education. Her wage of $15 a week, added to her husband's $30, will make this possible.

Mrs. Kendrick gets up at five-thirty, cooks breakfast and prepares the lunches for them all. Then she wakes the family, gets her husband off to work, and takes the children down the street to a neighbor before going to work herself. At school time the children are sent off, returning to the neighbor's to eat their lunch. After school they play in the street until their mother's return. On very rainy or cold days they go to their grandmother's, four blocks away. Over the week-end the mother cleans and cooks, mends the clothes, and as far as possible, does the marketing for the coming week.

The Kendrick family seem to eat the same kind of food, wear the same kind of clothes as their neighbors, and certainly their house is cleaner than most. The children are obedient and helpful around the house. Last spring when the nine-year-old boy had grippe he stayed alone at home for two weeks, apparently without complaint. Mr. Kendrick is quite acceptant of his wife's job. He knows that her earnings make better food and clothing possible for them all, and that there is a little surplus of three hundred dollars in the bank. On the other hand, he expects of his wife exactly what the other men in the street expect: a hot dinner, clean clothes, a decent home.

In a family such as the Kendricks' the gains through the mother's paid work are very evident. Whether there are losses more subtle in character we do not know. Mrs. Kendrick's health is good. Possibly it is true, as has sometimes been stated, that a selective process determines the entrance of mothers into industry—that only the stronger, the healthier, more ambitious mothers attempt it. As to the effect on the children—again we do not know. Mrs. Kendrick is very proud of hers. She thinks they are more independent, more self-controlled than the other children in the neighborhood. Whether the process of "psychic weaning" the psychologists are so insistent upon has been a bit premature in their case—again no one knows. Mr. Kendrick is rather easy-going and lacking in ambition—but he works regularly, and there are plenty of irresponsible men in the neighborhood with dependent, home-keeping wives!

Recently I inquired of a group of case-workers as to what happens to the family dietary when the mother goes out to work. I expected a reference to a sudden increase in the use of canned and ready-cooked foods, with less use of articles requiring longer preparation. The answer was emphatic and surprising: "They have much better food!" An examination of the menus in a hundred industrial families, including some forty full-time working mothers, seemed to confirm this statement. Certainly they furnished no sign of any marked difference in the foods used. Sunday dinner was the culinary event of the week, whether the mother worked or not.

HOUSEKEEPING has, of course, been enormously simplified, even in the low income groups, but it still involves some laborious and time-consuming processes. In Passaic, N. J., four-fifths of the mothers did all the housework, with no assistance outside of the family. Of the 600 Philadelphia mothers who maintained separate homes, 165 reported some "outside" help with the housework. (This did not include child-care.) The help was not analyzed, however, to discover whether it was the aid of a kindly neighbor who "runs in" to kindle a fire before the mother's return, or help of a more substantial sort. Only one woman in ten reported outside help with the laundry.

Household management, however, is unimportant compared with the vital question of child-care. The physical hazard to the neglected child is bad enough in our crowded city streets, as any one can testify; the moral hazard to the older child is even more serious, and the delinquency rate among children of working mothers is excessive.

There is another hazard, to the "good" child who spends long hours in listless waiting; who is not old enough or wise enough to be self-directing, and who knows nothing better to do than to sit down in a kind of mental vacuum until his mother appears. These "good" children are quite as heart-breaking as the "bad" ones. In a Chicago study of three selected groups of working mothers, out of 954 children, more than a third (37 per cent) were left with no care at all, and an additional 12 per cent were under the care of neighbors. In Philadelphia, 28 per cent of the children were left alone, and another 4 per cent, including seven babies, were under the care of a neighbor who "runs in." To be sure, almost all of these children were past five years of age, but complete lack of supervision during out-of-school hours could hardly be regarded as beneficial even for the six- or seven-year old.

The day nursery is as yet the only sign of community responsibility for the care of the child of the industrial mother. Partly because it is in the main supported from philanthropic funds, partly because its capacity is limited, the day nursery has frequently refused to admit the child whose parents are both working. This limitation has closed the nursery to the largest single group of working mothers. The more independent women seem to regard them with suspicion, as they do all institutions for children. Even in the most highly industrialized sections of Philadelphia, the Mothers in Industry study showed that only one in nine of the children of working mothers was under nursery care. Even this was an unfair number, since 84 of the 728 families had been interviewed because they were using a nursery.

A STATE-WIDE study of day nurseries in Pennsylvania in 1922 seemed to indicate that the growth of day nurseries depended on other factors than the development of woman-employing industries; certain large industrial centers had no nurseries at all. It also seemed that it was the mothers, without relatives or friends, who turned to the nursery. The trip to the nursery, the stigma of charity, even the established standards of cleanliness, all tend to influence the mother to turn toward the nearer and more

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personal forms of child-care. In the Philadelphia group, more than half of the children were cared for at home, by adults who were relatives, boarders, occasionally a husband, sometimes an old woman employed for a small sum.

The mother does not often leave a baby to go into mill or factory. In the day nurseries of Pennsylvania, only twenty-eight babies were found, although at that time some of the nurseries were quite willing to take them as young as three weeks. Among the Philadelphia children there were only thirty babies. In Passaic, however, where the mothers are so driven by economic need, almost 60 per cent of the children were under five years of age, and a secretary from the National Consumers' League, visiting from house to house in 1920, saw a number of little babies in the homes of working mothers.

In brief, our fragmentary knowledge of the mother of young children who goes into a mill or factory may be summarized in a few sentences. In the great majority of cases she works because she has to work, and earns the whole or a very necessary part of the family income. Her occupation is usually the work nearest at hand, but her selection of a job is also influenced by the work she did before her marriage. Her earnings are the same as those of other working women; that is, from $12 to $16 a week. At home she carries the same burdens she has always carried, with occasionally a little additional help from outside. The family is small—there are usually two children—and for these children she makes what provision she can at home or in her immediate neighborhood, preferably through a relative or friend.

WHILE the hardships of the working mother have always concerned the social agencies of the country, the rapid change of thought relating to standards of relief-giving seems to have postponed thorough discussion and crystallization of principles on the subject. The mothers' pension groups in the different states have followed various policies, in one city forbidding outside work by the mother, in another leaving the amount of outside work to the case-worker. Insufficient funds have frequently prevented both public and private agencies from freeing the mothers from too great economic pressure.

There is much to be said for insistence on the principle that even the mother in the dependent family should make some contribution toward the family budget. Certainly every case-worker can cite instances of a dependent, childish woman growing in force and personality through her own efforts to meet her family's economic problems. Certain family agencies have hewn out a policy relating to the working mother that is both practical and idealistic. The United Charities of Chicago, for example, in its office manual has the following statement:

> The policy of the Society precludes mothers of nursing infants engaging in gainful occupations. No plans are to be made or concurred in, which jeopardize the life or health of young infants by shortening the nursing period. . . .
>
> The Society does not contemplate that mothers of young children shall be engaged in gainful occupation.
>
> If ample provision is made for the school children and pre-school children's care in a day nursery, or with relatives in the home or near by, and the mother's health warrants it and the hours of labor are not too arduous, it occasionally is possible for a mother to work without injury to herself or the children. In general, however, sufficient relief should be provided to keep a mother at home with her growing children.
>
> It is never advisable to accept a plan for a family which contemplates night work for the mother, nor for any girl or woman member of the family.

It is probably true of family agencies, as of day nurseries, that the working mothers who turn to them for aid are those with large families, non-English speaking, without vocational training. In the Philadelphia study, the surprising fact emerged that only 2 per cent of the families were receiving any outside aid, though more than half of them were fatherless, deserted, or in other serious difficulties. Again, while there were 237 widows in the number, only nine were on the list of the Mothers' Assistance Fund!

IF to the married women in mills and factories were added the once-married women who also have children, the number would undoubtedly mount to well over a million. There are, however, very large numbers of working mothers engaged in adding to the family income through the more traditional occupations in the home. The kind of work to which mothers turn their hand is, of course, largely determined by the community in which they live. Unlike single women, they cannot leave rural communities to seek out work-opportunities in the city.

While women all over the country are taking boarders and lodgers, it is interesting that there is one very large industrial group whose married women in many communities are forced to find in that one activity their sole opportunity to earn. According to the report of the U. S. Coal Commission there are some 700,000 coal miners in America, four-fifths of whom are in the scattered bituminous fields in some eight different states, one-fifth in the anthracite region in eastern Pennsylvania. Over one-half of these workers maintain normal homes. The wives of many of them must adjust to a curious situation. They live in small "patches" or "camps" near the mine, in an intensely industrialized little community where even gardens are practically prohibited by lack of planning, and at the same time are dwelling in "rural" communities where there are none of the modern work-opportunities open to women. Of the 376,550 miners' wives, about 18 per cent are "gainfully employed"; in the majority of cases, this employment is the boarding of single miners. Here is the situation of one miner's wife I knew:

> Mrs. Sarsky lived in a mining patch in western Pennsylvania. The patch consists of the mine, a company store, and some fifty small red houses crowded into rows on streets so gullied that it is impossible to drive through them. Her house had three rooms. The smaller of the upstairs rooms was reached by passing through the larger. Both were filled with beds. There was one faucet with running water in the kitchen—rather a luxury in this region—and a surface-drained privy in the back-yard. Over a forlorn scrap of garden, as over the whole district, lies a veil of coal-dust.
>
> When I last saw Mrs. Sarsky she was on the horns of a dilemma. There were five children, the oldest twelve. Three weeks before, her husband had died of pneumonia after a two days' illness. During his life-time they had lived on his wage, about a thousand dollars a year, and the earnings of Mrs. Sarsky from boarding two single miners who occupied the smaller of the upstairs rooms.
>
> While Mrs. Sarsky was never quite sure what her money contribution to the family income really was, there was no question that it was a very real one. Her services to the lodgers consisted in caring for their room, cooking the food which they purchased for themselves, heating and emptying their bath-water at the end of the day, and washing the heavy, grimy clothes they wore at work.
>
> At her husband's death Mrs. Sarsky was told that she might live on in the "company house" on condition that she continue to take single miners to board. The State Mothers' Assistance

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Fund, however, forbids the "man lodger" as a hazardous source of income, and offers instead sixty dollars a month for five children. The nearest town to which she might move, or in which she might secure employment, is five miles away; and in her fifteen years in America she had learned possibly a dozen words of English!

Almost half of the third of a million "normal homes" mentioned by the Coal Commission consisted of households of four, five or six people; another 25 per cent had from seven to eleven people. The heaviness of the task of the miner's wife, however, does not lie solely in the size of the household, but in the lack of the simplest conveniences of life, the overcrowding that seems so common in the "camps" and the pall of black dust that makes even ordinary cleanliness an ideal to be struggled toward daily but never attained.

The Federal Women's Bureau, in a pamphlet compiled largely from the findings of the Coal Commission, points out some of these facts:

> Of the 80,210 dwellings in 811 communities, a little over 20 per cent had running water, about 3 per cent had a bath-tub or shower, and less than 4 per cent inside flush toilets . . .
>
> Outside privies with no sewer system were used in 60.7 per cent of the company-controlled communities, as compared with 28.5 per cent of the independent communities . . .
>
> At every turn the need of an adequate supply of water is paramount. Yet women dwelling in a little less than 14 per cent of the company-owned houses in the bituminous fields had running water in the house, not 3 per cent had bath-tubs, and only about 3 per cent had inside flush toilets. In these company-owned communities, with practically 71,000 dwellings, more than 60,000 of the home workers had to run water from an outside hydrant or draw it from a well and carry it in buckets to the house for all household uses.

Some hardships of daily living may be intrinsic in the coal industry itself; others could be removed or lessened. The irony is that the one occupation open to the miner's wife should be rendered so unnecessarily laborious. In the patch in which Mrs. Sarsky lived there was one "outside" job in the entire community—the cleaning of the company store. This job was regarded as a great prize by its fortunate incumbent, to be guarded jealously, and was paid for not in money, but in goods.

The lot of the wife of the anthracite miner is better. Only a third of these families live in communities classified as "rural." Some forty or fifty years ago silk-mills and later other women-employing industries, moved into the anthracite coal-regions of eastern Pennsylvania, with the definite purpose of drawing upon the woman-labor supply in the miners' families. The result has been a larger opportunity for the daughters of miners to live at home and yet contribute to the family income from their earnings. The mills, however, seem to have drawn few mothers away from home. Only three-tenths of 1 per cent of the wives (286 out of a total of 16,543 married women) were employed outside the home.

THE Commission estimated that the average monthly earnings of the miner's wife at taking boarders and lodgers is $36.89. This sum adds appreciably to the family income. Except for the one uncertain advantage, however, that the miner's wife is with her children all day, it is probably true that of all types of working mothers her life is filled with the heaviest and most monotonous toil and has least outlet through recreation, social intercourse, or even religious worship.

Another group of working mothers who stay in a time-honored occupation for women are those belonging in that miscellaneous classification, "domestic and personal service." My laundress Mrs. Smalley might be regarded as typical of this group.

Mrs. Smalley lived most of her life in a little town in the far South. She has worked since she was ten years old, first as nurse-maid, then at general housework, now at "day's work." She was married at fifteen and had two children before her husband drifted away. At the birth of each child she took two weeks off, then left the baby with a relative and returned to work. When she came North three years ago she brought her little girl with her. In a year she sent for the boy, and now they have two rooms, furnished with their own things.

Mrs. Smalley works six days a week for three dollars a day. The two children, eight and ten, are in school, and the rest of the day look after themselves. The boy sells papers, and the girl picks up a little money from errands or baby-tending. In the summer it is rather hard going and the little family is apt to run into debt. In the fall, when her employers return to town, things pick up again.

Mrs. Smalley belongs to a group in which the economic independence of women has never been questioned; they have worked outside the home throughout their lives. In fact, it has only been in recent years that any appreciable number of the men have had sufficient income to permit their wives free time during even the very early years of their children. Certainly no accusation of economic parasitism could be brought against the Negro mother.

In the study of Breadwinning Women in Four Selected Cities, published by the Federal Women's Bureau in 1925, it was found that in Jacksonville, Florida, more than 60 per cent of the Negro women of the city were at work, and of these workers more than four-fifths were or had been married. More than half were employed at home, nearly all at laundry work or taking boarders. Those working outside the home, too, were almost all in "domestic and personal service." A scant 13 per cent were scattered through a wide variety of occupations ranging from home millinery to telephone-operating.

THE mothers of the Negro group have special disadvantages, not only from lack of early education, in many instances, but because the pressure of poverty has never permitted them to build up any kind of community standards for child care. Certainly the Negro child receives least help and protection from the community. Many day nurseries draw the color line, and family agencies have been known to show a diminished interest in the Negro child whose mother must work. In this they share the usual mental attitude of the community, which seems to accept neglected childhood among Negroes with the same complaisance that it accepts overcrowding, neglected sanitation and industrial discrimination.

A final group of married workers should be mentioned here, both because it is made up in large part of the mothers of little children and because these women, like those who keep boarders and lodgers, have clung fast to one of the traditional lines of women's work, sewing in their own homes. No one knows how many "industrial home workers" there are in this country, nor, as a matter of fact, could any one tell, since a census taken one month would be untrue the next. The Women's Bureau of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry estimates that there are at least ten thousand in that state alone, concentrated chiefly in the eastern and south-eastern counties. A

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study made in Pennsylvania in 1919 showed that 90 per cent were or had been married.

HOME workers are employed in highly diverse industries. They include in the main "finishing" men's clothing, hosiery and knit goods; tobacco; rag rugs; hats and artificial flowers; dozens of small processes such as stringing tags or putting snaps on cards. The work is seasonal, wretchedly paid, and constitutes an industrial anachronism hardly to be tolerated. Last spring, in Philadelphia, I saw a home worker who presents many of the conditions—and evils—under which home work is apt to be done.

Mrs. Simpson lives in a little house set unexpectedly at the back of a larger one, and opening onto a narrow alley. She is a deserted mother with three children, quiet, efficient, energetic. If she went into a mill she could undoubtedly make from $14 to $16 a week, but she has no one to care for the children and cannot bear to leave them alone. She receives forty dollars a month from charity; the rest of her necessary income she makes up by finishing sweaters. She is an extremely quick and systematic worker, and wasted no time even while we were there. Five days in the week she works from eight in the morning until midnight, stopping only for a hasty lunch and dinner, which the children get under her direction. The children wash up, run errands, and in various ways ward off interruptions to her work.

The mathematics relating to her work are simple. Sweater-finishing requires skill and neatness. One sweater, which takes two hours, pays twenty cents. By working sixty hours a week —some six hours in excess of the state law—Mrs. Simpson is able to earn about $6 a week. Unlike many "home work" families, there is no child labor in this home.

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the various solutions that have been offered to the economic problems of the mother who must earn. Some suggest a wage-replacement that will tend to keep the mother in the home, others advocate better provision outside the home for the children of the working mother. An experience of my own raised the question anew as to whether we have enough psychological data as yet, relating to the mother-child relationship to determine what procedure might be best.

Several years ago a friend whose husband had died during the war was faced with the necessity of earning a living for herself and her little daughter. She held a responsible, full-time position, and was obliged to secure a boarding-place where the child could be cared for during the day. We worked out a carefully worded advertisement emphasizing the welfare of the child as the important consideration, good pay for adequate care, and stating that replies must give specific details as to the kind of care that could be provided. Forty telephone inquiries came in answer. In every case the furnishings of the rooms were described in detail, the distance from the car-line mentioned, "home cooking," even the bath-room facilities were discussed. But in answer to my inquiries for details regarding the care of the child, every reply was indifferent and vague. "Oh, she'll be all right," or "I don't mind children," or perhaps "The traffic isn't bad here."

Drawing by Kate Kollwitz

TRADITIONALLY, so high a value has been placed on good housekeeping—that the good housekeeper has almost without question been regarded as a good mother. Even family case-workers sometimes seem to check the effects of the mother's outside work on the home life through the more obvious tests of clean clothes, "home cooking" and neatly dressed children. In the old days these tests were probably adequate, when the home was full of work and play materials for the child, and through her own labor the mother was able to train the child in the trait-actions that make up character. One cannot know the lives of the low-income groups today without realizing that their homes have been stripped of materials useful in child-training, and that the activities of the child bear little relation to those of the mother. The mother as well as the child is frequently at a loss as to how best to occupy the child's time.

On the other hand, it would be foolish to assume that an educational program for the little child could be neatly dove-tailed into the demands of industry on the mother.

Such a program for the child is enormously expensive and must be undertaken only from a clear realization of the gains to the child itself and not to "free" the mother for factory work. The objectives of a nursery school are different from those of a day nursery, even though they may have some elements in common.

As yet the facts regarding working mothers are so incomplete as to give little basis for generalization. Most of the studies have stressed the economic side with data relating to size of family, income, hours or work. There is an almost complete lack of material as to the actual effect of the mother's double job on her health, on the child's mental and physical well-being, on the integrity of home life. Of one fact, however, we can be sure: the mother works because she has to work, and unless some other method of raising the family income is devised she is in industry to stay.

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Four Ways to Support a Family

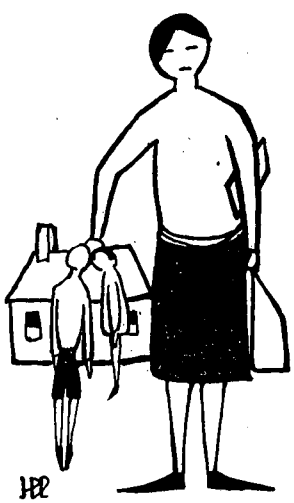
I. The Husband's Wage

By WILLIAM F. GREEN

Drawings by Helen B. Phelps

AMERICAN labor is definitely committed to the idea that the family is the unit upon which society can build constructively with best opportunities for all individuals to continue developing. Two things are necessary to maintain this unit: income and the spirit of home. Responsibility for providing income should rest upon the head of the family and upon the other partner in the undertaking of creating a home, falls primary responsibility for keeping the hearth-fires burning. We do not believe that wages should be determined by cost of living or family needs (though these are elements to be considered) or that wages should be based on any idea of pooling family earnings. Wages depend primarily upon productivity and when we find proper measuring rods and proper conditions of production, wages will enable a good workman to maintain desirable home standards.

In former days, when each family unit was practically self-sufficient economically, the wife made as objective a contribution to the home as the husband. As changes have come in our social and industrial organization there have come protests against this division of responsibility on the ground that it narrowed women's sphere to the home and excluded her from work that made full use of her ability and energy. It is true that factories have absorbed much of the productive labor through which women made a substantial contribution to home comforts and indirectly to family income. But the whole technique of production has so changed that the head of the family who works in a factory turns out a vastly increased output in comparison with what his wife did through domestic processes. The man's productivity has increased more than enough to supply things formerly made in the home. His wage should increase in proportion. As a fundamental principle American labor feels it is far wiser and of greater permanent value to strive to keep the wages of the head of the family adequate to maintain standards of living for the family than to sanction the practice of outside employment for the mother.



Mother spends

The earning of wages is only one aspect of family income. Prudent and constructive expenditure is even more important to the home. Mothers usually handle family expenditures and by conserving and saving make an invaluable contribution to income.

Adequate wages to the family head make it possible for the mother to give her time to the activities of rearing a family and doing her part to make the community a wholesome place in which to live. The welfare of the family and of the nation depends upon the spirit of high living and eager mental inquiry just as much as upon wages and the things that wages can supply. The wage-earner who seeks to create higher standards for the home by organized efforts to raise his wages to permit the realization of these standards is performing a more constructive service to the community than the one who accepts and perpetuates existing standards by permitting his wife's wages to form a part of the family income.

In their first character molding years children need that care and understanding that only an intelligent mother can give. To direct the development of boys and girls requires a profound knowledge of human life—physical, mental and spiritual, that brings a liberal education to the mother. To know how to help her children to live together in the family and in the neighborhood, she must herself have mastered the art of living. If force rules in the child world, there grows up an unforgettable attitude toward the use of force in human relations. The mother is a scientist entrusted with human lives.

THERE is a regrettable tendency for newly married women to continue in employment, avoiding the responsibility of children, rather than sacrifice material comforts temporarily. Can we make ourselves believe that such homes raise the level of national life and bring a deeper satisfaction to the individual? Would it not be better for that new family unit to undertake the adventure of discarding non-essentials and to learn the relative importance of whatever luxuries may be afforded as the bread winner's income increases?

In response to those who agree that this policy is desirable but that there are conditions under which it is necessary for both mother and children to secure gainful employment in order to bar poverty from the family hearth, we affirm it is no permanent remedy for low wages for the wife to seek employment in the factory when her husband works elsewhere. Neither does the remedy lie in putting the children to work. The result is inevitably lower wages for additional individuals and degradation of home standards. The only real remedy lies in an insistent and intelligent drive for higher wages for the head of the family.

Father earns

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II. Mothers' Pensions

By AGNES L. PETERSEN

PREVIOUS to 1900 there was no state program in this country for the aid of the family whose unity was threatened by economic necessity. Early in 1900 we began to talk about the rights of children to a normal home life, and by 1909 the White House Conference gave to this so-called "sentimental propaganda" the approval of the government. And lo—in 1926 we talk openly about the rights of mothers to economic security for their children and the responsibility of the state to step in with aid when the economic burden thrown on the mother is so heavy as to drive her from the home and deprive the children of her care and attention. These assertions show a progress in attitude. Can we show as much progress in our legislation?

In 1906 and 1908 California and Oklahoma experimented in a small way by granting public aid to mothers. In 1909 President Roosevelt called the conference for the purpose of studying problems pertaining to the care of dependent children. That this conference served as fertile soil in which an idea took root is evident, for in 1911 Kansas City and the states of Illinois and Michigan enacted legislation providing aid to mothers. Wisconsin followed their example in 1912, and by 1913 a total of eighteen states had enacted some kind of mothers' pension law. It was a by-word in 1913 that "the mothers' pensions idea has swept the country like a prairie fire."

There are three good reasons to believe that the chief fears about this legislation as a type have been overcome, the first and most conclusive of which is the fact that there is now some kind of a mothers' pension law in forty-two states. The second is that we have progressed from a pension available only to destitute widowed mothers with young dependent children, to legislation which provides public aid to needy mothers (in some states the stepmother or grandmother) dependent upon their own efforts to support themselves and children who are below the legal age of work. The third reason is that many of those who opposed this legislation in 1913 soon joined the ranks of its strongest proponents.

ON the other hand, some of its supporters in 1913-15 have now become discouraged because of its limitations or of unstandardized and poor administration. Restrictions in the application of the laws, which have been generally provided, very naturally have affected their results. While we can show some progress in extending the application and benefits of the laws and some improvements in administration, our progress is small compared with their importance to our social well-being. This type of legislation is still opposed by some on the ground that it is only a palliative, fundamentally unsound and therefore economically unsound.

Other plans now being urged as sound remedial programs, such as the family wage, increased wages for men and wage-earning women, unemployment insurance, involve first of all the solution of complex social and economic problems. All this would mean basic changes in our economic life which would take years to work out. Therefore, it is necessary to extend the application and benefits of mothers' aid laws and to provide better standards and more efficient administration until we have been able to remove the need for such legislation. From personal experience, I know that children are hungry in many homes in this "land of plenty." It seems not only inhuman but unsound economically and socially to ignore any family emergency which brings suffering to children. Imperfect and inadequate as our mothers' aid legislation may be, it is the one ray of hope in many homes.

While a state subsidy to mothers may appear a palliative measure to some, surely a well-worked-out program of state aid to mothers would prove an immediate means of caring for acute situations in needy homes. Since thousands of homes fall into this classification because thousands of mothers who are needed in the home must be both provider and home-maker, the problem is not only acute but quite general.

An assembling and analysis of twenty studies in various parts of the country by as many agencies, shows that of 59,876 women reported upon, over 51 per cent shared all their earnings with others. (Bulletin 30, Women's Bureau.) That marriage for women often brings the double burden of provider and home-maker is now an assured fact.

A SUMMARY of information collected by agents of the U. S. Women's Bureau (in connection with seventeen state surveys of conditions of employment) on the marital status of breadwinning women shows that less than 60 per cent of the 105,127 white women reporting on conjugal condition were single, 26,436 or 25 per cent were married, and 16,193, or slightly over 15 per cent, were either widowed, separated, or divorced. Most of us believe that our homes are the very foundation of the nation, that the mother's care in child-life is of great social significance, and that the future welfare of the country depends upon economic security in the home. The fact that two-fifths of the wage-earning women reporting on conjugal condition in seventeen states were married, gives us food for thought, then, in connection with the economic problems existing in so many of our homes.

Legislation providing aid to mothers, if it is well guarded and adequate as well as judiciously administered, should serve to collect valuable facts and provide a working laborartory for the study and diagnosis of the economic and social ills of our family life.

Since the aims and purpose of this legislation are to ensure home care for dependent children, it is necessary that the law be clearly and specifically worded. The regulations and provisions should include definite sources of revenue and adequate appropriations for both administration and aid; careful definitions covering all problems relating to the groups who are eligible for aid; the necessary powers to provide for a liberal and efficient administration.

The law should be sufficiently broad in its application to meet the financial needs of young children and mothers responsible for their support. It should insure to dependent children the rights of school, home life and protection. No state can claim that its legislation for aid to mothers is

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adequate if mothers are forced to work outside the home to supplement the allowance granted from public funds although they are needed by the children within the home. Nor can any state claim to have efficient administration of the law unless it has set up certain accepted standards.

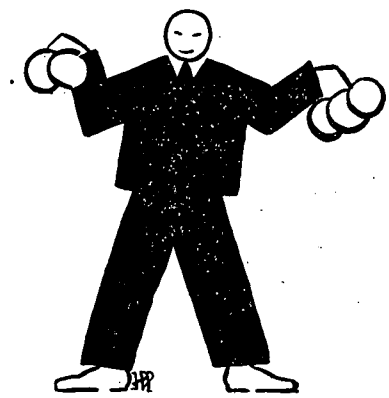
The law should be safeguarded not only by adequate administrative machinery and adequate appropriation but by a trained staff of efficient workers. Can any state boast that trained workers keep in constant touch with all the pension cases, or that careful investigations are made in all districts throughout the state before pensions are granted or refused? To function properly the machinery should be adequate to seek out worthy mothers who, either from ignorance or reserve, fail to file an application. I venture to state that no state offers this service to its children. Some states can boast of progress built upon experience and earnest effort, but no state can boast of a perfect or adequate mothers' pension law. Surely this situation is a challenge to the general assertion that child life in the United States is protected.

III. The Family Wage

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE principle that industry should pay a living wage to its workers has won almost universal acceptance during the last decades. Unfortunately, however, both reformers and industrialists have tended to satisfy themselves with a repetition of the shibboleth and have avoided probing into the precise meaning of the ideal to which they have subscribed. When this is done it is seen that the whole problem is inevitably bound up with the facts of family composition and support. A living wage must not only be enough to maintain the employed persons, but it must also be enough to support the female members of the household who, by their labors at home, make it possible for the husbands, sons, and daughters to work. It must, moreover, unless industry is to devour its living capital, be sufficient to bring up the rising generation of children in these families.

This need was confusedly seen by advocates of the family-of-five wage, who urged that men should be paid enough to support a wife and three dependent children under the age of fourteen. But the difficulty with such a contention is that while most working-class families go through such a stage, it is typical at any one time of but a small proportion of the workers. The 1921 censuses of Great Britain and Australia show that out of nearly twelve million adult males who were gainfully employed, not more than 8 per cent actually had three children under the age of 16. Approximately half the workers were either bachelors or married men with no dependent children. A wage sufficient to support a family of five would have been sufficient only for the needs of one worker in twelve; it would have been more than was needed in the case of more than 80 per cent of the employed. It would indeed be like the bed of Procrustes, fitting but few and either too long or too short for the remainder. Moreover, by saddling industry with the task of supporting the fictious wives and children of the childless or unmarried, it would impose an almost or quite unbearable strain on industrial establishments.



The single undivided income—

—makes small shares for a family with five children

In the face of such widely varying family compositions, it is impossible to protect the children by any uniform wage. If industry is to provide maintenance for those dependent upon it, it must be done by granting extra allowances to those with dependents. Since men's wages do not now increase sufficiently to meet the extra expense caused by added children, further additions to the family income are needed to maintain the children on at least that minimum of subsistence which a civilized society should guarantee to all of its young. From computations which I have made, it appears probable that an allowance of somewhere around $200 a year would meet most of the cost of supporting each added child on this scale of living.

The natural objection to such a proposal is of course that it will cause employers to discriminate against those with dependents. Will any employer, it is urged, hire a father of five children to whom he must pay annually an extra sum of $1,000? This difficulty can be solved, as it has been in France and elsewhere on the continent, by the formation of equalization funds. These funds make the burden of the children's allowances a charge, not upon the particular plant where the father is employed, but upon a number of industrial establishments which are members of the fund. Thus, let us assume that fifty firms employing 5,000 workmen establish such a fund. These 5,000 men will not have the 15,000 children which the family-of-five advocates assume, but instead will tend to have about 6,000. If $200 is granted for each child then the total amount paid out in allowances will be $1,200,000. This can be assessed upon the members of the fund by several methods, such as acccording to the number employed,

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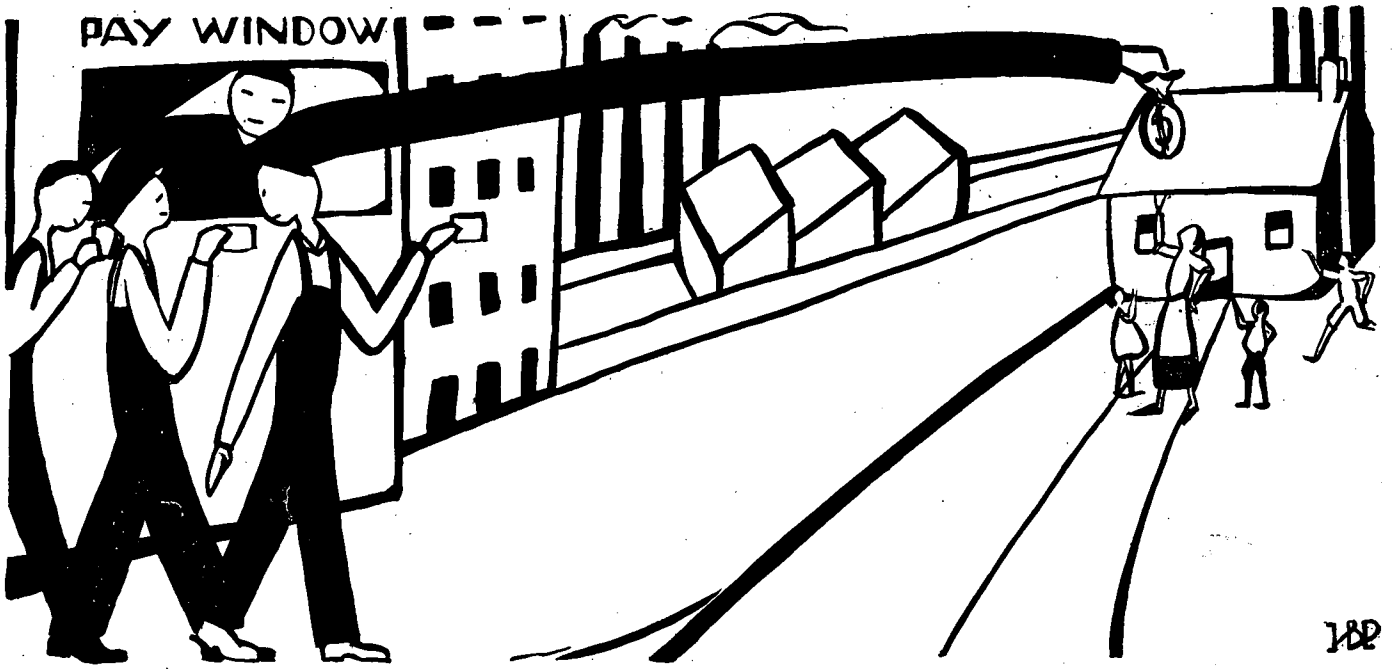

The effectiveness of the family wage plan will be increased if the allowances are paid directly to the mothers in their homes

the amount of the wages bill, the number of man-hours worked, etc. If the basis chosen should be the number employed, then the assessment for each worker would be $240. The employer would pay this sum into the fund for a bachelor as well as for the father of ten children and consequently would have no inducement to discriminate against the latter in favor of the former.

There are over 180 such funds in France whose members employ more than 1,250,000 workers and which paid out during the last year approximately 150,000,000 francs in children's allowances. Children's allowances are paid by all the railroads and coal mines of France as well. There are approximately 3,500,000 workmen in that country who now come within the scope of the system. Throughout continental Europe, allowances of varying amounts are universally paid to government employes with dependent children. There are, moreover, approximately 250,000 industrial workers in Belgium who are granted family allowances and well on to 2,000,000 in other continental countries.

That the family allowance system is adapted for English-speaking countries as well is shown by the recommendation of the British coal commission that it be adopted for the coal industry, where indeed it offers the miners their only possibility of a living wage. Similar proposals are now being seriously considered in Australia both by the Labor and the Nationalist parties, while two plants in this country, namely the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis and the Ludens Company of Reading, have adopted the plan with some modifications.

Taken all in all, the plan seems to offer a real hope that the needs of families can be met without saddling industry with an impossible financial burden. It can of course be used not only for industrial workers, but for public employees, teachers, ministers, and social workers as well.

The effectiveness of the plan will be increased if the allowances are paid directly to the mothers in their homes. This will at once make it more certain that the children will receive the benefit of the allowances while, by making the wives more independent financially, it will dignify and strengthen their position. It will also lessen any jealousy on the part of the single men. In the shop men will be paid according to productivity and the single men will frequently be paid more than the married. Only in the home will payment be made according to needs.

The administration of such a measure should also preferably be confided to a joint body representing both workers and employers instead of, as in Europe, being carried out by the employers alone. In this way any possible use of the system to foster a paternalistic supervision of the workers' lives can be avoided. There is indeed an excellent opportunity for trade-unions to make the granting of such allowances one of their wage demands and thus secure support for the children of those of their members who have large families.

The chief objection to such a plan is that it will unduly stimulate the growth of population. This danger appears to be exaggerated. The objection of mothers to large families would still continue while the granting of increased income to the poor would unleash further wants which would have to be sacrificed were more children to be born. It should be noted in this connection that the rise in real wages in Great Britain from 1881 to 1912 was accompanied by a reduction in the birth rate and in the effective fertility of the English people. Even were the menace of over-population to be a real one, it could be met by mak-

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ing the allowances appreciably less than the cost of rearing a child and by either discontinuing them or reducing their amount after the fourth or fifth child.

Some persons will advocate that these allowances be granted by the state rather than by industry. Although this is now an issue in Australia and may soon be one in England and on the continent, the economic and social philosophy of this country will for sometime prevent this from being a practical question here. And before it can become one, much industrial experimentation must be made. Personally, I prefer the industrial method to that of state action because it could not be used to subsidize families where the head of the household was not seeking employment, although the legitimately unemployed would be protected; and it would not lend itself to political manipulation to the degree which a state-supported system might. Whatever may be the ultimate methods adopted, however, the next steps seem to point to the necessity of industry making experiments in the direction of giving added sums to those who have added burdens. In this experimentation, non-profitmaking institutions can also share.

The payment of such allowances would remove the economic necessity for the working-class mothers to enter industry and would enable them to stay at home to take care of their children, as nearly all would desire to do were they economically free. This would give the children better care than they now are receiving and would lower the infant-mortality rate.

IV. The Parent's Wages

By ALICE BEAL PARSONS

"The long-standing difference of opinion between those who believe that the home requires woman's fairly continuous presence and those who believe that it would be improved by modernizing its last processes is now given new point and urgency by the emergence of the 'dependent family,' the discovery that the trend of our industrial system continually to reduce woman's economic contribution to the family support is not balanced by a corresponding increase in man's contribution, and that therefore we have the new and very startling phenomenon of the family unable to support itself. Instead of being an exception due to inefficiency, accident or illness, this dependent family gives every evidence of becoming the rule.

"Many reformers welcome the recognition of the dependent family as a proof of their contention that children should be supported by the nation as a whole, since they represent national wealth. This may be entirely desirable or entirely undesirable according as one believes or disbelieves in socialization. But in their application of the principle, they seek to spread the support of all the people of a given community or nation over the male workers alone. In the past the contribution of male workers alone has never been sufficient. . . . A more natural solution of the dependent family problem may therefore be found in the present efforts many women are making to recover their lost industrial occupations." From Mrs. Parsons' Woman's Dilemma.

WHEN the family income was measured in food, clothing and shelter and all the members of the family helped produce it, it proportioned itself naturally to the size of the family. When production was shifted from the home and small shop to the factory and was measured in cash, all the family not unnaturally tried to follow it. In the early days of the factory system the workers were unmercifully exploited, and the history of social reform was for years the history of the attempt to release women and children from the bondage of long hours and savage conditions of work, and to restore them to the home. This spirited attempt was largely successful. As a result the father's earnings began to form the chief part of the family income; and when the shift to factory production was virtually complete, as it is today, they became in effect the family income.

But no sooner had the long struggle to make the man's income the family income triumphed, than the sombre phenomenon of the "dependent family" appeared, due to the destruction of the old natural proportion between family income and the size of the family. Before the Industrial Revolution a man added to his income by acquiring a wife and children; today he adds chiefly to his liabilities by this acquisition, a fact that has serious consequences other than the obvious economic one. Sociologists and economists have suggested various methods of making family income adequate.

To support the family by the man's wage alone necessitates paying all men a minimum wage large enough for the support of a family of arbitrarily determined number, whether or not the man has such a family. Probably the proportion of men with and without families would in general follow fairly closely that found in an investigation of working-class families in several towns in England, where 27 per cent of the workers proved to be bachelors and 24 per cent widowers without children or married couples with no child under 14. A living wage based on, let us say, a family of five, would under conditions at all resembling these, provide for millions of phantom children at the same time that it very inadequately supported many real children. Economists are seriously questioning whether such a wage could ever conceivably be paid. And in any case it seems

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a limping solution of the problem to starve a real Peter in order to stuff an imaginary Paul.

The advocates of state subsidies for maternity and the family extra-wage, both recognize that the proportion between family income and the size of the family has been arbitrarily disturbed, and propose arbitrarily to restore it. These two schemes and their variants are immensely interesting in their insistence upon the community's responsibility for its members and in the finesse of their detailed working out, the thoughtful care with which they have tried to sidestep many of the pitfalls in the path of an arbitrary social cure, and their recognition of the spiteful tendency of a dozen new evils to spring up in the place of every old one we succeed in uprooting. They form in this respect one of the most interesting experiments in socialization to be found in the world today. But they are both based on the assumption that society can be supported by the labor of males alone. This is as yet wholly unproved. All we know about it positively is that it has never yet been so supported. If society can be supported by the labor of the males alone, these schemes evidently have a very limited application.

There is one remaining alternative. The difficulty can be solved by removing its cause and permitting women to resume their former economic contributions. They can do so without injury to the home only if they modernize the last processes of their housekeeping. This involves delicate readjustments, but possibly less delicate than those involved in a widespread application of the family extra-wage. Would its results be more desirable?

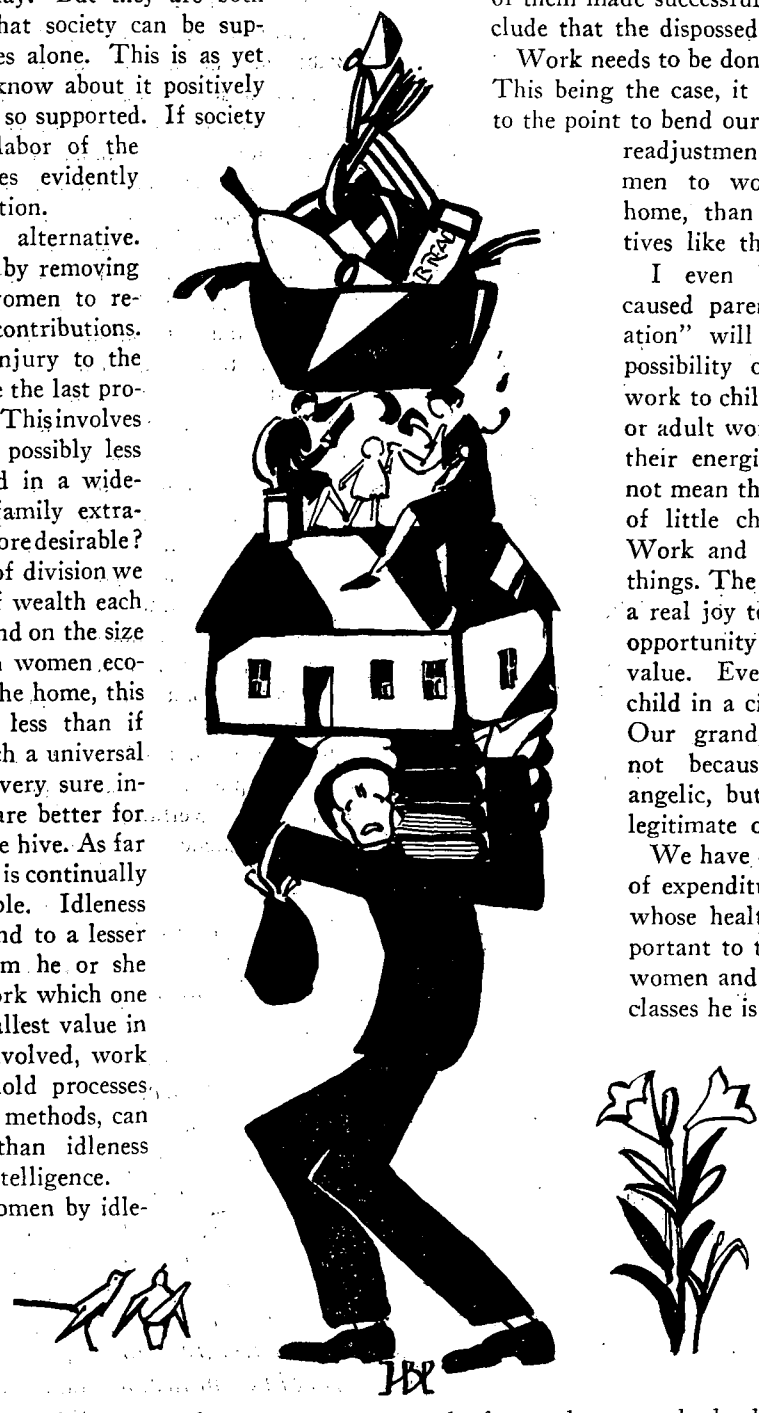
No matter what method of division we finally adopt, the amount of wealth each family will secure will depend on the size of the divisible heap. With women economically unproductive in the home, this heap will be substantially less than if they worked. To justify such a universal deprivation, we should be very sure indeed that the family will fare better for having their queen bee in the hive. As far as my information goes, this is continually becoming more questionable. Idleness works havoc on the idler and to a lesser extent on those with whom he or she comes into contact. And work which one knows to have only the smallest value in proportion to the energy involved, work such as performing household processes by old-fashioned individual methods, can seem appreciably better than idleness only to an undemanding intelligence.

The havoc worked in women by idleness or by inefficiently applied work deserves a more detailed study than I can give it here. I shall have to let it go with quoting from my summing up of such a study in Woman's Dilemma that "one of the most important discoveries in its bearing on women that our generation has made is the discovery that the wages of mental and physical idleness is neurasthenia." The woman who lives her life solely through others is as dangerous to them as she is to herself. If she is exclusively a mother she is unfitted to train her children to meet the thousand difficulties of the outside world. Intelligent parenthood, we are discovering, is an expert affair requiring community cooperation, and the home-staying mother is as a rule fitted to make little contribution to it. Her economic parasitism too often involves a loss of self-respect or discontent. Her intellectual inertia leads to fretfulness, jealousy, foolish habits of gossip, according to the individual. Women of other generations, permitted by circumstances to combine productive work with motherhood, had no such difficulties to face. Because many of them made successful mothers we are not to conclude that the dispossed modern woman will do so.

Work needs to be done, and women need to work. This being the case, it seems to me infinitely more to the point to bend our energies to working out the readjustments necessary to permit women to work without neglecting the home, than to devise artificial restoratives like the family extra-wage.

I even believe that much worry caused parents by the "younger generation" will stop when we restore the possibility of some degree of valuable work to children also. Not full time work or adult work, but work proportioned to their energies and strength. This does not mean that I advocate the exploitation of little children in the cotton mills. Work and overwork are very different things. The modern schools are restoring a real joy to children in giving them an opportunity to make things that have value. Every parent of an adolescent child in a city today is severely worried. Our grandparents worried much less, not because their cities were more angelic, but because their children had legitimate outlets for their energy.

We have erected an enormous pyramid of expenditure on the back of the male, whose health, I suspect, is quite as important to the community as that of the women and children. Among the poorer classes he is breaking economically under the weight, and we call this breaking the appearance of the dependent family. Among the others he is often as injured by this strain as are his wife and children by their parasitic existence. We need desperately, for all concerned, to regain a natural division of labor, instead of devising methods for making the present artificial division survive its difficulties.



We have erected an enormous pyramid of expenditure on the back of the male

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Changing Marriage

A By-product of Industrialism

By BEATRICE M. HINKLE, M. D.

IT has become the fashion for writers discoursing on the social problems of our times to attribute the very evident difficulties and dissatisfaction in modern marriage to women's growing capacity as wage-earners, and to their interest in occupations and activities, gainful or otherwise, outside the home. Such an explanation entirely ignores the fact that the notion of considering women's special activities to be limited entirely to the domestic routine and to the social graces, has had a very brief existence in the history of European civilization. The period just passing, in which married women were solely occupied in the unproductive labor of the home or else, if wealthy, lived completely idle lives of ease and social pleasures, having no contact with their husbands' business affairs, dates only from the late seventeenth century, the Restoration Period in England.

Prior to that time, the domestic drudgery, the cooking, cleaning, mending, looking after the children, was performed by the unmarried girls and even the young men apprentices in the family business were often partly occupied in the routine domestic work of the household. The wife was left free to take her responsible share in the family industry. Even among the upper classes, the women were busily occupied in the management of affairs and often carried on the husband's business during long absences, or concerned themselves with the affairs of their estates and even of government. The hardy, vigorous women of the Elizabethan period were fully occupied in productive labor, performing their share in all that concerned the welfare of the family.

If the profound changes that occur in human society can be accounted for solely by surface movements, then it would be nearer the explanation of the modern marriage difficulties to say that the seeds of these difficulties were sown when men began to go outside the home for their occupations and interests. It is only about three hundred years ago that the development of modern industrialism began to draw men into the class of wage-earners and to make it necessary for them to pursue their labor on the premises of the capitalist. Before that time all business and industry were carried on in the home. The workshop or accounting room was an adjunct of the home, and man's business was a family affair in which the wife was as actively occupied as was the husband. In the highly organized craft guilds as late as the seventeenth century, wives were rated as their husbands' partners; they were members of the guilds and recognized as possessing the right to work in that craft or business. On the husband's death the business was inherited and carried on, not by the son, but by the wife.

A study of the records of the later sixteenth century, the Elizabethan period, and on into the eighteenth century, reveals an attitude respecting woman's labor far different from that of the nineteenth century. There was no talk of woman's place in the home, nor was labor given a gender. No form of work was claimed particularly by men as their special prerogative and therefore closed to women by reason of their sex. In that period all work of whatever sort was woman's work as long as she was willing and able to do it. We read in the records the names of women in the carpenter trade, the mason's guild and other building crafts. They were largely represented in the textile industries; they were printers and book publishers; the retail shops were to a great extent in their hands, and in agriculture they worked equally with men. The fact that all business was conducted as a family enterprise rendered the labor of the wife and often the children an important and necessary part of the whole. Consequently, although the wife legally had no separate existence apart from her husband, she partook equally in the conduct of their affairs and contributed her full share to the economic life of the family. Practically all adult women were married and the questions that trouble the individual today hardly appear to have existed at that period.

The fact is that when the efforts and interests of two or more people are focused upon a common object, in this case the family welfare, there tends to be developed through mutual dependence and the help each contributes to the other, the strongest bond of which man is capable. That is why the early Puritan marriages of our country seemed more satisfactory and permanent, in spite of the hardships of those times, than the marriages of today, for there existed a mutual need of one for the other during the pioneer days, and the conception of individual happiness and well-being as an important factor apart from the family, scarcely existed.

With the development of capitalistic organization the individual gradually became the important factor in labor, displacing the former concept of the family

"Although the same difficulties which affect marriage today have existed in all times, the unequal position of women, their economic dependence, and fear coupled with religious pressure all combined to hide the situation. Modern industrialism has produced a condition which has allowed the situation to come to the surface and be rendered articulate. This is the first time in the history of civilization that mankind has reached that physical and mental state which makes possible the development of a marriage relation which shall be adapted to the needs of the complex modern human being."

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as the unit, and in the general upheaval produced by the industrial revolution the women were left behind. They ilies commenced to gain ground, for prior to the seventeenth century and even during that period, this conception did Seventeenth century England it attracted the particular calling became necessary in business affairs. Education played an important part, but no provision was made for women to be educated or specially trained to meet the new conditions. They were simply forgotten or disregarded. Their own skill was of a practical common-sense sort, with experience as their chief contribution instead of technical knowledge. This was entirely adequate when the business was conducted in connection with the home and the wife added her abilities to the common fund, but under the new conditions there was no place for her.

Thus began the separation of husband and wife as business partners and instead of a common work in which each participated for their mutual benefit, they were henceforth to travel separate ways.

The idea that men should support their wives and families commenced to gain ground, for prior to the seventeenth century and even during that period, this conception did not exist. Marriage in this earlier period was a condition that added to a man's economic welfare instead of being a burden upon it as has existed so markedly in our time.

IN various fields, bit by bit, work which formerly belonged exclusively to women was taken away from them. An example of what was happening in general can be shown by what occurred in a particular profession belonging by long custom and general concensus of opinion to women. Midwifery had always been in the hands of women until in seventeenth century England it attracted the particular attention of men, physicians and surgeons. It was introduced as a special study into the university, and forthwith, a law passed that no one could practice midwifery without having taken the course and received a degree from the university. But women were not admitted to the university! Therefore, in one stroke their ancient calling was to be taken away from them without redress. Even the domestic industries with which women had occupied themselves inside the home, all the ancient tasks concerned with the providing of food and clothing for the family needs, began to pass into the clutches of industrialism.

When the man prospered and wealth grew, the wife was relieved of all economic responsibility. She became the spender instead of the producer and slipped easily into the role of a dependent, living a life of ease and pleasure.

This unequal division of labor, by which women were shut away from contact with their husbands' activities and limited to unproductive domestic toil or else to lives of ease and idleness, served to widen the breach between the sexes. An artificial standard was set up which ruled that there were certain God-appointed laws determining the proper sphere of woman, and that her interests and capacities were of a totally different character from those of men and belonged wholly to the domestic life. This convention and habit of life grew and became crystallized; women became more dependent and helpless until there was fully inaugurated the tradition of the nineteenth century that woman's place was in the home, regardless of the condition of the home; and that any effort on her part to help herself and her children either through education or gainful occupations, was imitating men and a reflection on her sex.

Women passed from an important life—over-burdened, it is true, with the greatest responsibilities and creative toil added to heavy child-bearing, but nevertheless fully satisfying all their powers—to a new cultural condition in which they were limited to the most uninteresting form of routine domestic work. From this drudgery they hoped to escape as soon as possible into the ranks of the idle and pleasure-loving. Thus began the era of the parasitic or kept woman.

The capable, happily occupied wife of the earlier centuries became completely displaced and the delicate clinging-vine type took her place as the ideal to be achieved. The peak of this absurdity was reached when in the early Victorian period the desirable type of femininity was the ethereal, fainting, weak and helpless woman who clung to the man to protect and care for her. In psychological language one can call this manifestation nothing less than a great regression on the part of collective woman begun when man entered upon the new industrial era and she remained behind. While man was marching towards an intenser individualism, woman was sinking back into a deeper collectivism, held in the grip of a tradition making for irresponsibility and weakness. Thus there took place a complete reversal of the cultural ideals and customs of the former centuries with regard to women.

In our own country, all these great cultural changes which took several hundreds of years to effect in England, were passed through very rapidly. Owing to the primitive condition of life in America, all phases were experienced briefly in rather extreme forms. Before any one attitude could become too firmly organized, however, the next condition was upon us. This accounts for the increasing freedom and opportunity which women enjoy in this country and also for the greater individualism manifested among American women.

HOWEVER, in general terms it has taken nearly two hundred years for women to follow the example of men in their exodus out of the home into the business world and to demand their right to a place in this domain on equal terms with them. Now again, after the long period of exclusion from the world of industry, women are resuming their former position by entering into all kinds of industrial and general business activity.

It must not be ignored that now, as always, economic necessity and business needs have operated in the greatest degree to bring the modern situation to pass, and not solely the efforts of women themselves. Further, women have become as indispensable to the business life of the present as they were to the life of the Elizabethan period. Think what would happen if in New York city alone, all the women employed outside the home should suddenly decide to remain in the home. The problem we need to examine is not whether in order to save marriage, women must be returned to their homes, for that suggestion is purely academic; they will not go back but will continue to take their position in increasing numbers as responsible persons in all that concerns their economic and social life.

The real question is, what effect is this activity producing on women and how can marriage be adapted to the new conditions and attitudes developing from it?

We must recognize that although it is no new thing for women to contribute their share in industry to the family upkeep, a great difference does exist between wives

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From a German engraving of the fifteenth century

The capable, happily occupied wife of the earlier centuries

and husbands working together in industries carried on in the home and women leaving home to work independently for themselves as men have done, or to assist the family by work entirely apart from that of their husbands. Actually it appears to be the final action needed to complete the destruction of the old conception of the family as the unit—a conception abandoned long ago by the men when the capitalistic system replaced family industry, and only held tenaciously by women as long as they were unable to partake in the new individualistic methods.

Those who imagine that the difficulties of marriage, so obvious today, are a modern phenomenon and that they can be explained by the activity and unrest of the modern woman, are mistaking an effect for a cause. As long as the fact continues to be ignored that monogamous marriage is a great human problem quite unsolved as far as individual happiness and satisfaction are concerned, little of value will be contributed by present-day discussions.

MERELY because society chose to be blind and deaf to the actual status of marriage as it affected both men and women, the unsatisfactory situation was not thereby rendered non-existent. To be sure, its greatest hardships have been borne by women who, because of their numerous children, their legal infirmities and their mostly inarticulate and nonself-conscious state, were dependent and helpless. That is the reason perhaps that now, on account of their new-found consciousness of themselves and their dawning individualism, women appear to be the active agents in the modern disruption of marriage.

Under the social conditions from which we are just emerging, marriage inevitably grew to be regarded by women as a means of livelihood. It is quite impossible to estimate the number of marriages held together and endured in the past by reason of the social demand or because of the economic dependence of the women and children upon the man.

Men have never pretended that monogamous marriage was for them a satisfactory condition. It was a social status that had to be accepted, but both by favoring laws and by individual action it was made to interfere as little as possible with the husband's desires and privileges.

Modern industrialism has produced a condition which has allowed the situation to come to the surface and be rendered articulate. It has given large numbers of women an opportunity to become independent of men and marriage as a means of livelihood. Marriage as a means of support has lost in popularity immensely since women discovered they are capable of supporting themselves at less cost to their self-respect. It has changed the significance of marriage itself.

Formerly the major purpose of marriage was to provide suitable conditions for the production and rearing of children. The family was the important factor just as it is to the birds that mate to reproduce themselves and build their nests to provide a place for their offspring. Large families were an asset and marriage was little concerned with the individual happiness of its members. In industrial society today large families are no longer an asset but a debit. The problem of nations now is how to limit the growth of population instead of to increase it. Therefore the founding of a family is not the dominant purpose of marriage today. Instead it is the personal satisfaction and completion of the individuals concerned.

These changed conditions have served to force the individualistic attitude upon the women, for one of the greatest effects on women of labor outside the home is to render them more conscious of themselves, and to awaken them to a sharper realization of their own outline. From an intensely personal and subjective attitude, entirely absorbed in the family, which has been characteristic of women's psychology, they have been forced by the demands of modern industry to a more objective and impersonal state.

It is safe to say that those who have done most for the growth of industrialism had no realization of the by-product which would arise from its development—the beginning of the awakening and individualization of women, the first step in emancipation from their age-long psychic bondage.

It is this change in women that is affecting marriage so profoundly. It is practically impossible to create a satisfactory adult relationship when one person is entirely de-

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pendent upon the other, and that other is forced to carry the sole economic responsibility for the lives of both as well as of the family. Neither is it possible for people to give much thought to relationships when they are consumed by endless toil to obtain the necessities of life. Mutual responsibility and mutual consideration are the necessary basis for any relationship, and the marriage relation is no exception.

For the first time in the history of mankind the economic condition is such that both men and women can consider their individual happiness and welfare as superior to the maintenance of the institution. Actually, what we are witnessing today is the diminution of the value and power of the institution as such, and in its place, the demand on the part of the individuals for a personally satisfying life. The great problem is, how is this to be brought about?

Unquestionably the old situation must be broken up before the seeds of the new can sprout and grow. Therefore, I believe that the disruptive and chaotic state of modern marriage is an inevitable preliminary condition if there is to be any development of a new relationship. Furthermore, as far as I can discover, this is the first time in the history of civilization that mankind has reached that physical and mental state which makes possible the growth and development of a marriage relation which shall be adapted to the needs of the complex modern human being.

The marriage relation is certainly a much more difficult problem today for both men and women than it was in the past when the interests of the human being were entirely occupied with the physical necessities of life, and the psychic necessities which bulk so large today were scarcely known. It is these psychic necessities which have put the old marriage relation out of joint, for contrary to the statements of many medical writers on the subject, it is not the mere physical inadequacy of men that is the cause of women's dissatisfaction. The husband may be completely satisfactory sexually, but his psychic inadequacies be such that a happy, mutually helpful life is impossible.

From The Girl's Own Paper, June 4, 1887

The delicate clinging vine type became the Victorian ideal

EVEN though the sexual aspect of life is most important, far more important than the Puritan attitude of our time has been willing to recognize, nevertheless men and women are something more than simple sexual beings. Repression and sublimation have done their work, and it is no longer possible to find satisfaction for psychic needs on the physical plane.

Both these aspects of the human life demand consideration on the part of each individual, for they mutually affect each other. When it comes to be fully realized that marriage is no longer an institution to legalize sexual attraction or to provide a livelihood, but that it is a highly important social state for the spiritual development of men and women as well as for society, a new understanding and a new attitude in relation to marriage will be born.

Already the signs of this awakening are manifested here and there. People who in the past would have gone on dumbly living out their lives in a deadening relationship, mutually destructive, are now becoming objective and questioning.

It is this attitude that is disturbing so many people today, for the first results of any awakening is the desire for immediate action. Inevitably, hasty, ill-advised conduct will occur—the tendency is always to react violently from one extreme to another. The passing of the banal utterance that marriages are made in Heaven, even though it was evident that many were lived in Hell, has cleared the way for the new conception of marriage as something to be created by the individuals concerned. In the last analysis the success or failure of the marriage will depend upon the capacities and psychological development of the persons involved. But for those sincere, thoughtful people who recognize their responsibility to themselves, to each other and to society, the freedom from an outer compulsion and the bondage of tradition will give the opportunity to work out their marriage on the new basis, that of an individual relationship between equals freely chosen.

The fundamental necessity is that the marriage must seem important and worth saving to both man and woman.

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The Romantic Impulse and Family Disorganization

By ERNEST W. BURGESS

"FALLING in love" is, with Americans, the natural, expected, and, above everything else, the proper prelude to marriage. On the other hand, "love before marriage" has been tabooed by all peoples in the past and is frowned upon by the overwhelming majority of contemporary societies as foolish, shameless, even indecent. We are so committed to the idea that marriage is legitimate only when it is the culmination of a romance that a candid inquiry into the merits of marriage systems which make no provision for courtship is, to say the least, not easy. Courtship is, as a matter of fact, a natural phenomenon; it is a type of behavior that man shares with the lower animals. May we not, therefore, regard the attempt to limit the free choice of mates as, in some sense, a crime against nature?

At any rate, the conviction that marriage is but the formal sanction, which society is bound to give, to a deep and mystical experience—an experience so intimate and personal that any attempt to scrutinize or question it must be regarded as an impertinence—has assumed in the United States, and elsewhere in comparatively recent years, the character of a social dogma. As such it has played the role of a psychic censor, inhibiting inquiry not only into the nature of the marriage relation, but into the sources of the present alarming increase of familial disorganization, disclosed even by the most external measures, such as the court records reported by the United States Census. There was, for example, one divorce to every 6.9 marriages in 1924, as contrasted to one divorce for every 17.1 marriages in 1890.

In two original, if not in all respects scholarly volumes (Romantic Love and Personal Beauty—1887—and Primitive Love and Love Stories, New York, 1889), Henry T. Finck has proposed and elaborated the audacious thesis that romantic love "is a modern sentiment, less than a thousand years old, and not to be found among savages, barbarians, or Orientals." Certainly in the Orient today, except where Occidental culture has penetrated, society does not encourage romance in connection with, nor as a prelude, to marriage.

IN Japan, as in China and India, parents emphasize practical considerations—social status and economic standing—and ignore, on the whole, sentiment and personal preferences in arranging the marriages of their children. How completely the individual may accept marriage as a family affair rather than as a personal matter is delightfully portrayed in A Daughter of the Samurai, the autobiography of a Japanese girl who became an American woman. Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto was betrothed at thirteen:

> There was a meeting of the family council, the largest that had been held since father's death. Two gray-haired uncles were there with the aunts, besides two other aunts, and a young uncle who had come all the way from Tokyo on purpose for this meeting. They had been in the room a long time, and I was busy writing at my desk when I heard a soft "Allow me to speak!" behind me, and there was Toshi at the door, looking rather excited.
>
> "Little Mistress," she said, with an unusually deep bow, "your honorable mother asks you to go to the room where the guests are." I entered the big room. Tea had been served and all had cups before them or in their hands. As I pushed back the door they looked up and gazed at me as if they had never seen me before. I made a low, ceremonious bow. Mother motioned to me, and I slipped over beside her on the mat.
>
> "Etsu-jo," mother said very gently, "the gods have been kind to you, and your destiny as a bride has been decided. Your honorable brother and your venerable kindred have given much thought to your future. It is proper that you should express your gratitude to the Honorable All."
>
> I made a long, low bow, touching my forehead to the floor. Then I went out and returned to my desk and my writing. I had no thought of asking, "Who is it?" I did not think of my engagement as a personal matter at all. It was a family affair.

Not alone in the Orient, but in ancient Greece and Rome and, indeed, among modern European peoples, marriage is still more a matter of family arrangement than of personal choice. Matrimony begins and continues in feelings and attitudes of respect between husband and wife, rather than love.

Yet, although romantic love has become but lately the first consideration in *marriage*, nevertheless, the thesis of its recent origin as the basis of association between men and women cannot be accepted.

America, turning its back upon the traditions of the Old World, has emphasized romantic love as the reason for marriage. This emphasis has strengthened with the growth of cities, the increase in leisure time, the social and economic emancipation of women, the freedom of modern youth. But perhaps the tide is turning from the doctrine of romantic love as the sole and only basis of marriage, to include a mingling of romance, comradeship and mutuality of interest in due and perhaps changing proportions.

ROMANTIC love, or something closely akin to it, was seen in Athenian life, but not in the relations of husband and wife. Indeed, "a wife," according to Menander, "is a necessary evil." "The tender, unselfish solicitude for the welfare of the beloved was felt sometimes by men for promising lads; the enthusiasm of passion was sometimes kindled by a gifted courte-

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san, educated by the conversations of the great men of her time." (Emily James Putnam, The Lady, p. 12.) The *hetaerae,* skilled entertainers in dancing and music, were not infrequently friends of statesmen, artists, and philosophers. Most famous of all was Aspasia, the companion, mistress, and finally, the wife of Pericles.

In Cicero's day there arose in Rome, under Grecian influences, a new type of woman, the woman of *cultus*. "More and more the notion gained ground that a clever woman who wished to make a figure in society, to be the center of her own *monde,* could not well realize her ambition simply as a married woman. She would probably marry, play fast and loose with the married state, neglect her children, if she had any, and after one or two divorces, die or disappear. . . ." (W. W. Fowler, Social Life at Rome.) The *hetaerae* of Greece and the women of *cultus* of Rome were forerunners of the "new woman" of our time.

The origin of romantic marriage has often been attributed by scholars to the chivalrous knight and the courteous lady of feudal society. But the love of the lady of the castle was not, as was due, for her liege and lord, her husband, but was bestowed upon some gallant knight, or wandering troubadour, or adoring poet.

A MORE tenable theory derives the romantic basis of modern marriage from the social life of royal courts in the seventeenth century, particularly from that of France. The brilliance of the court with its punctilious etiquette and freedom of morals attracted an outer circle of ladies-in-waiting and courtesans, sometimes of gentle birth, not infrequently of lowly origin, who by their loveliness of face and figure, charm of manner, or vivacity of mind, might well evoke the grand passion in courtier, nobleman, or king. The romance thus engendered might terminate in a temporary alliance, or in a long attachment as mistress, or even in permanent union in marriage. Louis XIV, *le grand monarque,* matrimonially allied with the Hapsburgs, had a succession of mistresses, the last and most famous of whom, the Marchioness de Maintenon, born in prison and reared in poverty, he secretly wedded, although he never raised her to the throne vacated by the death of his queen. Most romantic of all was the dizzy rise of the illiterate daughter of a Lithuanian peasant on the uncertain stepping-stones of masculine favor: the bride of a Swedish dragoon; the war-prize of a Russian general; the purloined favorite of a prince; the mistress and then wife and consort of Peter the Great; and finally, after his death, Catherine I, the regnant empress of the Russias.

In the next century in France with its highly artificial social life developed to a degree of perfection previously unknown the art of *politesse* as a basis of social intercourse between the sexes. The *liaisons* of its ladies were only one phase of this new and daring adventure of women into the realm of masculine literary, philosophic, and political interests, invaded before only by the *hetaerae* and courtesans.

While in that same eighteenth century in England the intellectual "ladies of blue stockings" were unromantic not only in their marriages but also in their associations with the great men of their time, the meteoric career of five or six ladies of the demi-monde fascinated and shocked the nation. But fashions in the demi-monde of fair and frail ladies and gallant and spirited gentlemen changed—and the romantic association rose in esteem.

> [By 1769] it had ceased to be the mode to make a *fille de joie* a universal toast. Now the man of spirit flaunted his own mistress, and a score of famous liaisons, dating from this time or a little later, indicate a variation from the previous custom. Lord Sandwich and Martha Ray, Lord Seaforth and Harriet Powell, Lord Egremont and Rosalie Duthé—these are among the most famous alliances of that period. The change was salutary in another respect, for the patron often married his paramour. [Horace Bleackley, Ladies Fair and Frail, p. 144.]

In the past the romantic impulse and matrimony were disassociated. True, mad infatuations on occasion have led into happy married life, but these are the exceptions that might be taken to prove the rule. And unfortunately in many of these instances the wife before marriage had been a notorious woman. In the Old World romance was kept apart from marriage because of its seeming incompatibility with any prudent consideration of family interests. Therein lies the unique interest in the attempt in the New World of America to reconcile the romantic impulse with family well-being.

IT is in the United States that perhaps the only, at any rate the most complete, demonstration of romantic love as the prologue and theme of marriage has been staged. The explanation lies not far afield. The relaxation of parental control over courtship has changed marriage into a romantic adventure instead of a serious and responsible undertaking in which not merely the family but the state was concerned.

The natural setting for romantic love is freedom of choice, but that is not all that is implied. The meaning of the term "romantic" gets its essential nuances in a contrast[1] with the terms "conventional," "formal," "decorous," and "constrained." For the romantic impulse manifests itself in feelings and sentiments that are profoundly personal and imperious. In its more passionate expression it knows neither limits nor restraints, but possesses the lover so completely that reputation, honor, truth, and loyalty seem as nothing to the smile of the loved one. It is the essence of romantic love that it is unlimited and unrestrained, and the consequence is that it releases all the other elementary passions, jealousy and revenge, so intimately associated with it. That is one significance of the proverb, "All is fair in love and war."

Naturally, then, romantic love tends to consider the person, not the type, and personal traits, as beauty, charm, individuality, rather than family wealth and social standing. Accordingly, love overcomes, or seeks to overcome, all the barriers of wealth, class, and culture. The romantic aspect of courtship is heightened wherever an attempt is made to limit freedom of choice, as when parental opposition results in an elopement.

THERE seems to be no doubt that romantic love has, from an early period, been accepted as the sole basis for marriage by practically all classes in this country. In his Social History of the American Family,[2] Arthur W. Calhoun gives unmistakable evidence in the decades after the Revolutionary War of the "non-commercial character of American marriage" and of "carelessness as to social rank." In the United States as nowhere else in the world has headstrong

[1]) *See* R. De Maulde la Clarière, *Les Femmes de la Renaissance.* The chapters on "Marriage" and "The Married Woman." An interesting philosophical conception of romanticism is elaborated by T. E. Hulme in *Speculation, Essays on Humanism and the Philosophy of Art,* pp. 113-40.
[2]) Vol. II, pp. 27-32.

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and heedless youth literally exemplified the amusing admonition of Gilbert and Sullivan::

"Never mind the why and wherefore,
Love can level ranks, and therefore."

The public appetite is insatiable for news of marriage, with or without the parental blessing, of a scion of millions with a servant maid; of a Harvard graduate with a chorus girl; of an heiress from New York's most exclusive social circle with a self-made song writer whose boyhood was spent on the East Side.

The romantic impulse as it finds its expression in love-making and marriage in this country has had a history in which at least three main trends may be distinguished: the termination of romance with marriage and its conversion into conjugal affection; the formulation of the doctrine that the validity of marriage inheres in the continuance of romantic love; and a widespread reaction against romantic love and the emergence of a cynical attitude toward courtship and the marriage institution.

AT first, and typically in rural communities, romance parallels courtship and terminates with marriage. The convention is maintained, however, that "they live together happily ever afterward." No one will deny that in the open country, in villages and towns, husband and wife, with few exceptions, "live together ever afterward," whether happily or not, but probably more happily than their city cousins. The romance of courtship mediates the early adjustments of married life and remains an enthralling memory in the family annals. Before the advent of the automobile, courtship and marriage took place in the country within a small geographical area where "everyone knew everyone else." For a youth to escort a girl home from evening service at church on three successive Sundays made him her "steady." Engagement and then marriage almost inevitably followed. With marriage, the newly wedded couple "settled down," the husband to the regular round of farming, the wife to the routine of the activities of the house and garden. Their common interests centered in the management of the farm and the rearing of children.

Ernest Mowrer, in a book soon to be printed (Family Disorganization, University of Chicago Press), explains why the family in rural America absorbed practically all the interests of both husband and wife. Outside of marriage there was no career for women.

> In the rural environment of the New World the family was an essential economic unit. The wife played the part of a partner in wresting a livelihood from the soil. Woman found her true sphere in the home as a wife and mother. Spinsterhood was feared because there was no place for the single woman except the status of a household drudge. The prime motive in marriage was to have a home—to be economically secure.

The industrial revolution, the growth of cities, the increase in leisure time, and the forward strides in popular education could not but have their effect upon marriage and the family. The taking of work out of the home and the consequent economic and social emancipation of women served in one way or another to heighten the emphasis upon romantic love, not only before but after marriage.

Romance no longer was taken for granted. It became the theme of a vast literature. The "best sellers" of E. P. Roe, Laura Jean Libbey, and Harold Bell Wright had an enormous influence in defining, particularly for rural districts, romantic notions of courtship and marriage. The love stories in popular magazines, with a circulation running into hundreds of thousands, have tended more and more to "play up" the stimulating and the exciting in the adventure of love. The daily newspapers have followed suit with thrilling and sensational "true" stories from "life." Finally the motion picture portrays romance, with all the semblance of reality, so that the stars of the screen have become the models for millions of devotees. Significant also is the appearance of the so-called "problem" novel and "problem" play with the discovery that the real issues in romantic love arise after rather than before marriage. All this interest and reflection, although largely based on vicarious experience, crystallized into a popular philosophy.

THE central idea of this prevalent doctrine was that love and love alone was competent to bring together in marriage the persons best fitted to establish a family. Supreme happiness was to be found in marriage, but only with the predestined loved one. The theory of the "soul-mate" soon was elaborated to include belief in "love at first sight" and in the necessity of meeting and marrying one's affinity for the fullest expansion of one's personality or the accomplishment of one's best work.

Naturally there was, even where passion was deep and sincere, disillusionment, notoriously when romantic impulses led to unions of persons with widely different cultural backgrounds and philosophies of life. It became only too evident that in many marriages even if respect remained, the romance faded. The affinity theory was modified to demand either the continuance of romantic love in marriage or the dissolution of marriage.

"Incompatibility of temperament," while not a legal ground for divorce, gained wide popular sanction, especially in cities, as a justification for dissolving an existing union in order to pursue ideal happiness in a new matrimonial venture. Rudolph Valentino, who in his acting symbolized to the public *par excellence* the romantic conception of love, is reported to have made this confession of his faith (Chicago Daily American, September 21, 1926):

> I set out in the belief that I had achieved union with my ideal mate, and I thought there could be no greater happiness for a man than to be united to his soul mate. I soon realized that marriage and the artistic temperament could not harmonize and I lived in hell for the days in which I could not adjust myself to the extent of regaining my freedom. I pray you may never suffer as I have suffered. You may think it strange that I should have risked a second [marriage], but I was under the delusion that it would be different, and for some weeks everything suggested that I was right. This is the way that fate mocks us artists and it was not long until I realized that the second marriage was going the way of the first.

The popular philosophy of romantic love was always more or less tempered by common sense. But certain social reformers and advanced thinkers carried this doctrine to its logical extreme of "free love." "As a guiding principle of morality, the unity of marriage and love must be maintained," declares Ellen Key, the ablest exponent of these new ideas. In her Love and Marriage may be found all the familiar articles of faith of romantic love, rationalized and emotionalized in support of "love's freedom," "the right of motherhood," "free divorce," and "a new marriage law."

> "Those who belong to each other come together in the end; those whom chance parts, never belonged to each other" (p. 114). "There can be no other standard of morality for him

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who loves more than once than for him who loves once only: that of the enhancement of life" (p. 39). "In our time ethical obtuseness betrays itself first and foremost by the condemnation of those young couples who freely unite their destinies. When one soul has found another soul, when the senses of both have met in a common longing, then they consider that they have a right to the full unity of love (p. 108).

The theories and conclusions of such radical idealists have had little or no influence upon the masses of mankind, but they powerfully affected the small but influential group of the *intelligentsia*. Many individual attempts were made to demonstrate the validity of this rational program, as in experiments in New York's Bohemia, Greenwich Village, where social conditions were most favorable. In Love and Greenwich Village, Floyd Dell pays a tribute to the enthusiasm, courage and intellectual conviction with which these social rebels sought to carry out their unconventional program.

We met each other at the Liberal Club and became good friends. We were very fond of talk. We talked over everything in the wide world. . . . And incidentally, of course, we agreed in disbelieving in marriage. We considered it a stupid relic of the barbaric past, a ridiculous and tyrannical convention. We were altogether enchanted with each other's enlightened opinions.

One evening, as Rosemary and I talked, there came in the midst of our intellectual discussion, a pause—a moment in which we gazed at each other in one of those silences that can end only in a kiss. And a moment later we knew—what anybody else, no doubt, could have told us all along, that we were in love.

The occasion seemed to demand a pledge of some kind. And so, instead of promising, in the old-fashioned way, to be true to each other, we promised, in a more modern fashion, that each would be true to himself. "And," said Rosemary, "when the time comes, and one of us falls in love with somebody else, we won't lie about it. We will tell each other, and part. Freely, and without regrets or recriminations!"

These were our vows—to be courageously candid in our expected and inevitable unfaithfulness. For we knew, intellectually, that the time would come when we would no longer love each other. Instinctively, we could not believe it—to speak of such a thing at a time like this was secretly a hurt to our deepest feelings. But we believed in facing the facts. We were reasonable, intellectual, modern young people. And—there is no doubt about it—we felt superior to the common run of mankind.

It was true that our relationship would be condemned by nasty-minded people. However, we knew scarcely any nasty-minded people. Our friends were all modern young people like ourselves, many of whom, secretly or openly, had dispensed with ceremony in their love-arrangements. And we had no anxious relatives to come snooping around, asking to see our wedding certificate. Moreover, being poor, we were obscure; no one in New York would care how we lived; the reporters would not camp on our doorstep asking for interviews on "free love." It was not necessary for us to pose on the one hand as martyrs to an ideal, nor on the other to skulk about in secret rendezvous under the disguise of false names and a wedding ring. We need neither argue about our conduct, nor lie about it. We could be lovers openly and fearlessly.

Regretfully the ex-villagers of the story confess the failure of their romance because they found in it, to their surprise, all, or nearly all, the problems of institutional marriage, and also other problems. Finally, after several similar disillusioning episodes the ex-villagers find happiness in marriages based upon comradeship and common interests.

The Greenwich Village experiment marks the ebb of American romanticism. No environment more propitious for the success of so radical an experiment could have been asked for. Its failure convinced the participants, if we may put credence in Mr. Dell's narrative, that romantic adventures in free love did not realize the promised enhancement of personality without at the same time entailing losses that offset or more than counterbalanced the gains. These losses in disillusionment and in more tangible values naturally fell more heavily upon the women than upon the men. For one thing, these unions were predicated upon the absence of children, and if a child arrived, its interests and that of its mother had not been provided for.

Love in Greenwich Village suggests another interesting conclusion. The free unions seem to have been successful to the degree that the doctrine of free love was held as a matter of theory rather than of practice. Mr. Dell tells an astounding story under the title A Piece of Slag, of the shattering of a union through an audacious although sincere attempt to submit the theories held by the lovers to the acid test of experience.

THE romantic impulse by itself and unsupported by other sentiments and interests is not, it seems, sufficient to maintain the permanence of even a free union. The disillusioned rebels against society, themselves completely freed from conventions, have sought—each in his own way—a substitute or a supplement for the romantic impulse, and it seems to have been found in the comradeship and the mutuality of interests of married life.

This conception of a new basis for marriage upon something more than a mere love adventure has been excellently stated by Elton Mayo (Should Marriage Be Monotonous? Harper's Magazine, September, 1925):

Adolescent love is an event; married love is a situation. The first is a critical phase of development, the second is sustained romance. Love for the wife implies an inability to conceive of life without her. For both man and woman the domestic atmosphere should hold rest, and understanding, and sympathy.

The exaggerated wonder of adolescence at the mysterious revelation of the loved one represents a stage of development that connot be perpetuated. The irregular union is committed to the hopeless attempt to perpetuate this atmosphere—an attempt which invariably fails. The few that apparently succeed do so by reason of the fact that they become marriages in fact if not in law; the woman, as a novelist has said, ceases to be herself an adventure and goes with the man upon a joint adventure. The necessary condition of a continued intimacy of living for a man and woman is the development of external and objective group interests. These interests tend gradually to minimize, if not to supplant, the mutual preoccupation with each other of two lovers on a honeymoon. To the young and ardent I have no doubt that middle-aged matrimony seems unduly monotonous. To those who are middle-aged and happy it seems to hold a serenity and a complexity of interest that compare well with the passing fevers of youth. If for no other reason, this apparent monotony might be justified by the single consideration of the disastrous effect which any alternative situation has upon the growing child.

The reaction against the romantic conception of marriage is largely confined to the intellectuals, whether conservative or radical; there has been, as yet, no corresponding popular revolt against romantic doctrines. There are symptoms, however, even here, of a coming explosion of the romantic dogma: among others, the restlessness of modern women, the insurgency of youth, a growing interest in getting at the underlying causes of family disorganization.

Of all these symptoms, the results of the new freedom of youth are most alarming to parents and to the public alike. In speech, in manner, and in attitude, boys and girls still in the teen age show heedless disregard for convention; a contempt for the advice of their elders—or,

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worse yet, a smug indifference to it; a sublime faith in their own opinions about life and conduct; and a cynicism for "the sacred things of life" that shock the older generation and render its occasional efforts at intervention futile, if not absurd.

This attitude of youth does not represent any intellectual reaction against the doctrine of romantic love, but it may involve skepticism, if not cynicism, about love and marriage, which is likely to cause real and permanent loss because of the close interdependence of personal development with family life. For this additional reason the formulation of a new conception of a workable basis for family life is imperative. But parents and other representatives of the older generation find it difficult if not impossible to talk with the younger generation. "It is not so much what young people do, but the revolutionary and outrageous things they say, and the smart and smug way in which they say them," is the exasperated comment of many an older person. The very mothers who found the advice of their own mothers helpful in affairs of the heart are bewildered and helpless in their few and vain attempts to advise their daughters.

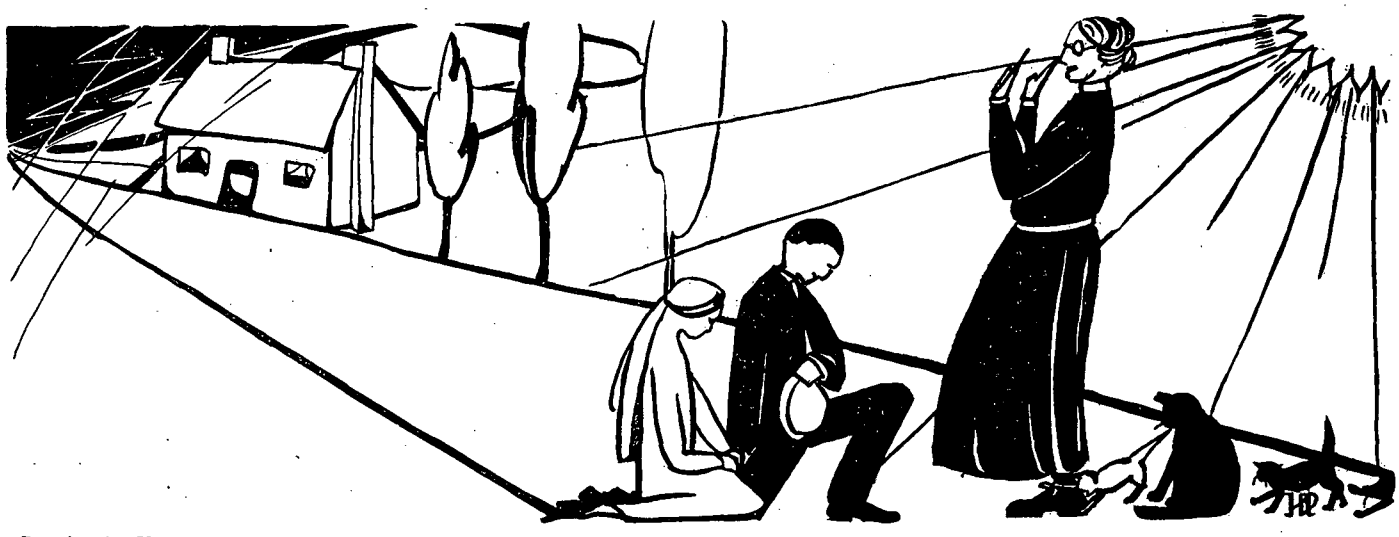
Mrs. Wilberforce confided in her own mother the progress of her early love affairs. She was guided in them by the older woman's advice. Vivienne (her daughter), with a long procession of admirers, rarely speaks of any of them, except in the most casual tone. Once or twice, in sentimental bewilderment, she has turned to her mother for counsel and during the ensuing interview has given rather than taken advice. Mrs. Wilberforce becomes dumb and horribly ill at ease when her daughter listens to her, smiles and says: "Oh, mother, you're so awfully mid-Victorian!" Mid-Victorianism, inability to keep up with the times, are things Mrs. Wilberforce dreads above all others. She has grown accustomed to permitting Graham and Vivienne to express, unchallenged, beliefs she considers revolutionary, to do things she believes unwise, because of a fear that protest will make them regard her as they look upon Grandma. Her constant dread is that her children will consider her old-fashioned and reactionary. (A Family Outline of Sin, by Frederic F. Van de Water, The Ladies Home Journal, October, 1926, p. 18.)

IT follows that the youth of our time is not likely to accept without question the counsel of age. The change in attitude even of the cultivated people described by Mr. Dell who have passed through the experiences of radical romanticism, disillusionment, and cynicism to a reconstructed philosophy of life will probably not be entirely convincing to young people of today. They will not cease to demand the autonomy of youth in working out their personal problems, and, as far as they are concerned, no problem is more personal than marriage.

THE emancipation of youth, like the emancipation of women and the freeing of the slaves, is a situation which must, I am forced to conclude, be recognized, whether or not we approve of it. For its acceptance is a precondition of any communication with, or assistance to, the younger generation. In the long run, the only way any of us learn is by experience, and it has always been the function of the older generation to transmit its experience to the younger generation. The rapidity of social change in the last decade has become so great, however, that the experience of the past, at least in the details of conduct and morals, is of little or no use, and probably only a hindrance, to modern youth. Youth must solve its own problem of love and marriage and it must be largely in the light of its own experiences, with whatever of perspective that experience gives.

In the accumulation of this experience, and in rendering it available to the adolescent and the youth, parents, teachers, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists can function, not as the moral preceptors of youth, but as fellow students of the complex and complicated problem of life.

THIS resumé of the rôle of the romantic tradition in love and marriage should not be taken as implying or prophesying its future disappearance from family life. Quite the contrary. The romantic impulse is an inveterate human trait which seeks expression in every field of man's activity, particularly in the love life. Its expression in courtship and marriage will continue. But there is even now every indication that the *doctrine* of romantic love as the supreme if not the sole *raison d'etre* of marriage and the family is being replaced by the conception that romance, comradeship, and mutuality of interests, in due and perhaps changing proportions, are all necessary for satisfying relationships in courtship and marriage.



Drawing by Helen B. Phelps

The romantic impulse is an inveterate human trait

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Sheiks and Shekels

or Supporting an Able-Bodied Girl

By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE

DUDE and Daisy were young and in love—which of course should have settled it. They should have lived happily ever after, and my story end right here. But apparently, although they had been "going together" for three years, marriage was as remote a possibility as on the first evening that they met.

As his name indicates, and as the strangely derived word "sheik" implies, Dude was a careful dresser. He had a white-collar job in a bank for thirty dollars a week, which is less than the wage of many a workman whose collar is white only on Sundays. But after Dude's daily scrutiny of the higher paid bank officials and his evening study of the haberdashery of his favorite movie stars, he would mutter to his mother,

"Hang it, a guy has got to dress decent if he expects to get anywheres."

He was supposed to pay her ten dollars a week for board, and five dollars a week on his Ford. This left fifteen for gas, repairs, lunches, clothes and entertaining Daisy. Naturally his mother got her ten after his other obligations had been met.

Daisy, in her turn, paid eight dollars of her weekly eighteen to her mother and spent the remaining ten on lunches, clothes and marcels. At least one supposes that she did, for as she admitted, she hadn't the faintest idea where her money went, and she invariably was broke on payday.

There was nothing to distinguish Dude and Daisy from their friends. All of them had to dress well and drive some kind of a car. If they did not, they were totally at a loss—what else *was* there to do? They could not sit every evening in Daisy's little parlor and either drive out the family or converse endlessly in their presence when they had nothing of general interest to say. Sometimes, if both of them were broke, they practised a new dance step, and Daisy's parents went conveniently to bed. But this was a mere time-filler till they could afford to pay the fee to Dancedream and make a real night of it. Such were the lovers and their mental and financial resources.

These evenings had gone on for three years with every prospect of as many more.

"When's the wedding coming off?" was the tormenting question of the other girls in Daisy's office.

"Now when you and Dude decide to settle down—" Daisy's mother would hesitatingly suggest, only to be interrupted by Daisy's peevish retort, "Do let Dude and me alone. It sounds as if you wanted to get rid of me."

As a matter of fact, Daisy wanted something to happen. She only cut her mother's remarks short because she could not bear to admit that Dude was not pressing her to name the day. He had a tendency to shy away from her little feminine sighs for "a cute bungalow" and "Gee! I'm crazy about children" and suggest an ice-cream soda or some equally harmless substitute. She knew that Dude was fond of her, and that she wanted a change. She also saw plainly enough that he was not eager to support her. But she reasoned thus to herself:

"Dude has to get up with an alarm clock anyhow. Marrying me won't make it any worse. It costs no more to take his wife to a show than his girl. If he pays me the same ten dollars he pays his mother, I can manage as well as she can—so what are we waiting for?"

Sometimes the elusiveness of her sleek but noncommittal lover would so irritate her that she could not be appeased by a new dance step or a chocolate sundae. Her tongue would get an edge on it that would drive him to the soothing influence of a poker game with his male acquaintances. "Back with the unmarried men," they would shout, as Dude joined in with a sheepish grunt, and the silver that would have gone towards Daisy's entertainment if she had been better-tempered, went into the jack-pot.

It must not be inferred that because girls in the flesh were absent from the poolroom they were absent from the minds of the young men at the poker table, or from their conversation.

"Nifty suit you've got," remarked a foreman from a box concern, as Dude sauntered in. "I'll bet that set you back the twenty-five berries you'd saved up for the honeymoon."

"More than twenty-five," commented a vacuum-cleaner salesman. "You can't hope for that double-breasted model when your wife gets at your pockets."

"Bet your life, a happy home will take the razor edge out of your pants," laughed a young fellow from a machine shop, who never lost a chance to get back to the old crowd when his wife left town. "It's all right to be a white-collar man when you're single, but wait till the knot's tied. Your first coal bill will knock all that foolishness out of you."

"Depends on the job you've got," remarked Dude stiffly, at which the mechanic flared back: "Bet you don't get more than my thirty-five per, purple suit and all!" Dude maintained a discreet reserve.

"THE girls ain't good managers any more," commented a clerk from a hardware store. "The kid down at our place got married last Saturday, and back to work on Monday morning. 'Why ain't you at the washtub?' I says, for a joke. And she says, 'I'd rather get my sixteen-fifty and spend it, and send Tony's shirts to the Chink. Nix on the soapsuds,' she says. She's a cute kid, too, but she spends five dollars on perfumery and two dollars on shoe buckles. I seen her do it. She'll have to quit sometime, and then where will her Tony be?"

"He'll be in a box-car heading for the open spaces," was the sour comment of the heavy-set fellow who ran a chain grocery, as he shuffled the cards. He was twenty-three

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years old and divorced, and as such his opinion was entitled to respect. "Show yourself a good time, fellas," he used often to advise them, but don't sign on the dotted line if you can keep your head. All they want is to spend the money they're sick of earning, and get some soft guy to earn it for them. Twenty dollars for a hat, nothing! I should pay twenty dollars to put a hat on *any* woman's head."

"That's all right," rejoined a car conductor, "but some of them are so damned independent that if you don't buy their hats, they go back and buy their own, like the kid you were talking about," nodding at the hardware clerk. "My sister stayed home after she was married, two months. Thought she'd like the change. But 'Oh hell,' she says, 'who wants to scrub a floor for no pay, when she can answer the phone for fifteen per? If both of us stay off the floor,' she says, 'it won't get dirty and won't have to be scrubbed.' It's no use, none of us can make her stay home."

"Why should she?", snapped a house painter noted for his bolshevist views. "Leave it to her kids to take the meanness out of her. She'll be glad to have hubby buy the shoes and forget the buckles when she's got a few kids. Till then, let her pay her own bills."

"Aw, cut out the girl stuff," interposed Dude irritably. "I came here to get away from them." And he pulled in the pot of seven chips.

Dude always hoped for light from these masculine encounters, but he invariably came away more in the dark than ever. He was really fond of Daisy, and a few evenings by himself left him lonely and out of sorts. On the other hand, he was not dense, and he saw plainly enough that although she was tired of earning money in a cross lawyer's office, she was by no means tired of spending the money that she earned, and she shied away from the thought of economy exactly as he did himself. Neither of them saw any possibility of earning alone what both of them had become accustomed to spend. For that is the problem of the sheik and his lady, to fulfill the behests of the tailor's ads and the movie queen, on the wages of cover-all aprons and flannel shirts.

"Damn it, she knows a ticket to the Dream costs one buck as well as I do," reflected Dude, "and she knows how much a good feed sets me back. Why is she always hinting about bungalows? Where does she think the dough is coming from?"

NEVERTHELESS, since it was evident that although Daisy was perfectly able-bodied, she wanted to quit wage earning if she could, and make Dude support her in an agreeable fashion, Dude, perfectly aware of this, would periodically figure on an old envelope.

"Say we only have a hundred and thirty a month just at the start. Subtract forty for rent, and it's ninety, and say we each eat about five dollars a week—that's forty more out. Say we pay five a week on the furniture, and five on the car—" and he found that they would have about two-fifty a week between them for extras like shows and gasolene—and clothes. Two-fifty! He often spent more than that in one evening, and Daisy was not marrying him to be a recluse and never go near an amusement park—he knew that very well.

Dude would cram his discouraging envelope into his pocket and stroll down to Daisy's. They would saunter into a movie and a drug store, and the evening would end with Dude a dollar or so poorer, and Daisy more restless and dissatisfied. Both mothers, hearing their respective children creep up to bed about midnight, would wonder how it was going to end.

As he expected, after some days of being on the outs, Daisy's voice sounded one evening on the 'phone.

"Say, Dude, a girl I know wants us for dinner tomorrow night. Want to come?"

Dude, who was very bored, accepted with relief and six the next evening he in his spring togs, and Daisy in a charming dress (she had borrowed her next week's wages to pay the first instalment) were knocking at Mrs. Finch's door. This festivity had been enthusiastically planned by Mrs. Finch, agreed to amiably enough by her silent young husband, and accepted with gusto by Daisy. The hostess wished to show off her new home. Daisy hoped that the powers of suggestion would work subconsciously on Dude. Dude, who felt himself slipping, was not averse to seeing how this marriage business worked out in action. He felt sure that Finch, who was an electrician, earned no more than he did, and if Mrs. Finch was a good manager, she might teach Daisy a thing or two. In fact, everyone had been consulted and had agreed to play the game except Miss Patty Finch, aged one year.

PATTY lived an orderly life as a rule. She played out-of-doors and she took a nap. She romped with her father when he came home from work, and she took a bath and went to bed. Today this routine had been seriously interfered with. Her mother had been too busy to take her out, and her father, after much splashing and shaving, was too clean to allow her to crawl over him. As a crowning insult, she had been washed and curled and prevented from creeping around the floor in her clean dress. Her forbearance had been strained to the uttermost when her father with a last determined thrust, sat her in her high chair and opened the door to his guests. Daisy rushed up to kiss the baby, who had never seen her before and resented the familiarity. She shrieked and clawed at Daisy's hair, and since such treatment would immediately ruin a dollar and a half marcel, Daisy hastily put her back in her chair where she screamed so lustily that it was plain that bed was the only solution.

"You boys can fry the steak, while we put the baby's nightdress on," announced Mrs. Finch, and with this the girls retired to the bathroom while the two young men gingerly entered the kitchen. If anything was needed to complete young Patty's wrath, this was the move. She was accustomed to a leisurely bath, much conversation with a celluloid duck and manoeuvres with the soap and wash-cloth. Now all this was to be snatched from her. She decided that a spirited protest was wholly within her rights. She screamed and twisted. She pulled the guest towels into the tub. She finally worked herself into such a fury that she started the painful operation known as holding her breath. Mrs. Finch became terrified. She threw water into the baby's face, thereby drenching Daisy, who backed instinctively into the kitchen only to encounter a worse catastrophe.

Neither Dude nor Mr. Finch was an experienced cook, and the latter felt that slight irritation which most non-talkers feel toward talkers, and all non-dudes feel toward dudes. Moreover, his attention was divided, for his daughter's screams made him nervous and clumsy. As he turned the steak, Dude backed quickly to avoid the spat-

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tering grease and sat directly in the salad plates on the kitchen table. This was too much—mayonnaise dressing all over the seat of his new suit, and all because a hulking fellow could not turn a steak without spattering. He looked up with an angry oath, and Daisy caught not only his wrathful mutterings but an answering malice in Finch's eyes as if he would say, "Take that on the seat of your pants, you tailor's dummy!"

DUDE recovered himself sufficiently to let Daisy swab him off and he sat down at the table where he was presently joined by the dishevelled Mrs. Finch, who left her husband to walk the floor with the maddened Patty. Daisy gallantly aired all her funny stories, until she fairly cackled with self-consciousness. The ice cream was eaten in silence and after it was over, both girls, almost in tears, murmured good-byes and excuses, and Dude and Daisy found themselves outside the door. Dude lit a cigarette in embittered gloom, but Daisy flatly lost her head and began to cry hysterically.

"You haven't any right to think it's always that way," she sobbed with no preliminaries.

Dude dragged her by the elbow till they came to a bench where she slumped down beside him.

"'For the Lord's sake, shut up," he hissed. "Who's hurting you?"

But Daisy had caught Patty's brainstorm.

"I know what you think. You think that if we got married, it would be just like that. And our food would be messed up and our clothes look terrible. But it's not fair to think it's *always* like that."

Dude, secretly willing to be convinced, murmured, "Why wouldn't it be?"

"Mama'd help us," she wailed.

"You said your folks were moving away," retorted Dude.

"Well, your sisters could help if we had company."

"My sisters! My eye!" was Dude's sarcastic comment. "They'll be fixing salad of their own for people to sit in by that time. Besides, I don't want to live in a nuthouse, even if we don't have company."

"I could get a woman to help," persisted Daisy.

"If there'd been any more women in that two-by-four I'd be bughouse right now," snarled Dude.

"Couldn't we live with your mother?" moaned Daisy.

Dude reddened. He was behind twenty dollars in his board, as it was. With Daisy's to pay, it would be forty.

"We'll leave the relatives out of this," he muttered.

"Anyhow, the Finches weren't so bad," Daisy insisted. "Patty is real cute sometimes, they say. And I could manage as well as they do. I can cook. You don't seem to think I can do anything—" and her sobs broke out afresh.

"You can pound a typewriter but I know you're sick of it. You've told me so enough times. You want something pretty choice for a change. Those Finches never do anything but stay home. They haven't got a car, so they couldn't go any place but a movie. And how long could they stay in a movie with that kid yelling like an Indian? You'd like that swell—being kicked out of a movie once a week!"

He did not pursue this further for he felt embarrassed to dwell upon a possiblle family. But as a matter of fact, his eye had fallen on the milk bill in the Finch kitchen.

"That kid's a tank!" he muttered cryptically. Then and there he ruled out "kids." And without them, as he reflected, "Why in hell can't Daisy support herself?"

He was not stingy, but he had no illusionss and he was broke. Daisy was no fool. Why could she not see it, and relieve him of the embarrassment of admitting it?

But Daisy could not adjust herself instantly, either to the picture of herself as a Mrs. Finch, perpetually chained to the kitchen sink, or as Dude's wife, trudging off to work forever, exactly as she was doing at present. There must be some more picturesque alternative. There must be some cake that could be both kept and eaten. Surely they had not philandered three years merely to be caught in such a commonplace dilemma. The pleasing couples in the movies always faded out, wreathed in smiles, in a rose garden.

"Other men manage somehow, why can't you?" she insisted. "What's the idea, keeping a girl waiting forever?"

An angry flush mounted Dude's cheek at this thrust. "I don't remember ever asking you to wait," he snapped.

"You've just the same as asked me. You've gone with me three years, and everyone expects we're engaged. You keep all the other fellows away."

"What other fellows?" roared Dude.

"All of them," reiterated Daisy. "I can't plan anything. I don't know what I'm going to do. You'll have me slaving away in that lawyer's office till I'm a hundred. If you don't ever expect to support a wife, why don't you say so?"

Then as her last ill advised thrust, "If you are looking for a girl to support *you,* you can look somewhere else."

At this the two involuntarily rose to their feet, and faced each other. The expression on Dude's face at last penetrated Daisy's perturbed spirit.

"I've never asked you nor any other damned woman to support me, and I never will." With which statement, muttered through his teeth, he turned on his heel and disappeared, leaving Daisy to regret her rash jibe in solitude. She waited for him but he did not return. When she could wait no longer, she crept home alone.

AFTER a sleepless night of reflection, Daisy could see that she had been unjust. Dude could not give her what he did not have. It was her affair and not his that she had been unwilling to give him up and look for a husband elsewhere. If he had not saved his money, it was because she had helped him spend it, and she had not saved her own. She would go to his house with an apology. She would start a savings account so that she need not go to him empty-handed. She would learn to be an economical housekeeper. She might even forego a diamond ring—or if that was going too far, she would at least work after she was married till it was paid for. She would take her mother and his into her confidence. She would do all that she should have done before.

She rang the bell at Dude's house the next evening, and her most ingratiating smile was on her face. Dude's mother had evidently been crying, and crying for a considerable time. Her eyes were heavy and red, and as they fell on Daisy they turned hostile. Thoroughly shocked, Daisy stared at her.

"Why, what's the matter? What's happened?" she gasped.

"I guess you know what's happened. You're probably at the bottom of it. You know all right."

"I do *not know,*" cried Daisy. "Where is he? What's happened? What's happened to Dude?" she insisted, stretching out her hands impulsively.

"You don't know? Well, he's run away. He's run off and joined the navy. There. You know *now!*"

And she slammed the door in Daisy's face.

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City Life and Domestic Discord

By ERNEST R. MOWRER

"The family has come to the city from the country and has become disorganized on its journey. It cannot and will not become organized by returning to the country, but only by working out new habits, new points of view, new ideals, adapted to the complicated and shifting conditions of city life."

NO problem in the modern world, perhaps, is fraught with such pathos, such tragedy and such universal interest as the disorganization of family life. And yet in no field of social relations is there a greater dearth of accurate information than exists concerning the steps which might be taken to prevent the heartaches of which each divorce speaks so eloquently. Throughout the western world, and especially in the United States, the sentimental attitude toward marriage has glorified this ceremony until it has become the crowning event of one's life. To break the union, which had its beginning before the marriage actually transpired, represents in many cases the destruction of a romantic picture for which no satisfactory substitute ever is found.

Statistics of divorce and desertion are cold. They offer little help in understanding the factors which have brought about crises in the marital ventures of so many persons. What good does it do the social reformer or the distracted wife whose husband is unfaithful, to know that in Chicago, for example, there were 6,094 divorces granted in 1919; 2,661 cases heard in the Court of Domestic Relations in 1921; one divorce to five marriages in 1924; and so on? Such statistics give no clue to the causes of the family conflicts which they indicate.

THE simplest method, perhaps, of getting at the causes of domestic conflict which tends to terminate in family disintegration, is to study the social life of an area in comparison to that of another or other areas. Thus if the divorce rate is higher in the United States than in Europe, the conventional explanation is in terms of the differences in the cultures of these two geographical areas. But cultural differences in the population do not conform nicely to political or other artificial boundaries, such as state or county lines. Differences in divorce rates by states, for example, indicate the diversity of legal restrictions rather than differences in manners, customs, religion, ideals, standards of living, and so on. If, however, one selects an area within which the terms upon which a divorce may be secured are constant, a state or a city, one may assume that the legal factors represented in cases of family disintegration are the same, and therefore may be neglected so far as a comparison between parts is concerned. Let us take, for example, the city of Chicago.

Chicago, like every large city, is made up of many areas—residential neighborhoods, industrial communities, immigrant colonies, rooming-house districts—all tending to have their distinctive cultural characteristics, diverse by racial and national origin, by economic status, by marital conditions and by cultural type. These cultural differences of city areas are reflected in the activities and interests of the people. Standards of all kinds vary from neighborhood to neighborhood. What is considered moral in an expensive residential district, for example, may be judged immoral in an immigrant colony.

But how do these parts of a city become differentiated? What are the forces making for segregation? What determines the boundaries of communities? How does this process of differentiation affect the family? In what way is family disorganization related, first, to the different ways of living represented by these different communities; and second, to the forces making for the differences between one community and another?

It is said that cities grow like trees, adding new rings at the outer edge and rotting at the core. Yet the growth of a tree is simple compared with that of a city where the processes of expansion are many and complicated.

As the city grows, there is not merely an increase in the number of buildings, an expansion over a larger territory, or a multiplication of avenues of communication. A process of segregation and differentiation also takes place which gives character to its areas. Institutions and residences spread out in all directions from the center tending always to find the most advantageous position. People are drawn, likewise, by their interests to the neighborhoods especially favorable for survival and success.

Extension of transportation lines not only draws the outer areas of the city toward the business center in time but it draws business out of the central areas as well. As a result there grows up a series of sub-centers which tend to further break up the community into areas bounded by thoroughfares, railways, street-car lines, bus lines, elevated lines, etc. The city becomes, thus, a net-work of inter-crossing barriers dividing areas each of which has its own peculiar characteristics. These characteristics act as a magnet in drawing those social types of people which are appropriate and repelling those which do not fit. Thus there are family and non-family areas, areas of the rich and the poor, racial areas, occupational areas, and cultural areas. Even the age and sex distribution varies for different areas.

SYSTEMS of communication, the newspaper, the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio also have a profound influence upon the growth of a city. They tend to counteract differentiation and segregation upon the basis of external characteristics such as race and substitute for these, or accentuate, the more subtle interests such as aesthetic interests and philosophies of life.

*Data for this article were taken from the author's book, *Family Disorganization*: An Introduction to a Sociological Analysis, which will be brought out by the University of Chicago Press in December.

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Another factor in the growth of the city is that of industrial expansion. Industries are likely to locate along the rail- and water-ways; light manufacturing just outside the district taken by business; and heavy manufacturing at outlying points. The zone of light manufacturing constantly encroaches upon the area held for residential purposes and thus lowers its value for residence. This causes a selection by this area of those elements in the population, who, because of their poverty, cannot find a foothold elsewhere; or who, because of low repute, cannot remain securely in the more favored neighborhoods.

On the other hand, the location of heavy manufacturing at outlying points builds up colonies of workers about the factories, while the managers live outside these districts. Retail stores and other small business ventures tend also to grow up in these sub-centers, producing, in so far as family life is concerned, the same differentiation of areas which characterizes the city as a whole.

Thus in the growth of the city, communities become differentiated—first, in terms of structure which operates as a selective force in the distribution of population; second, in terms of institutions which come to serve the differentiated local groups. The result is to give to the city a wide variety of cultural areas which mould even family life into a diversity of forms.

With reference to family life, five types of areas may be found in Chicago: non-family areas, emancipated family areas, paternal family areas, equalitarian family areas, and maternal family areas. Each of these is closely correlated with a certain kind and amount of family disorganization.

The non-family areas are to be found in the center of the city, in and adjoining the central business district—in Chicago, the Loop. They tend to be one-sex areas—predominately male—such as Greektown, Chinatown and Hobohemia.

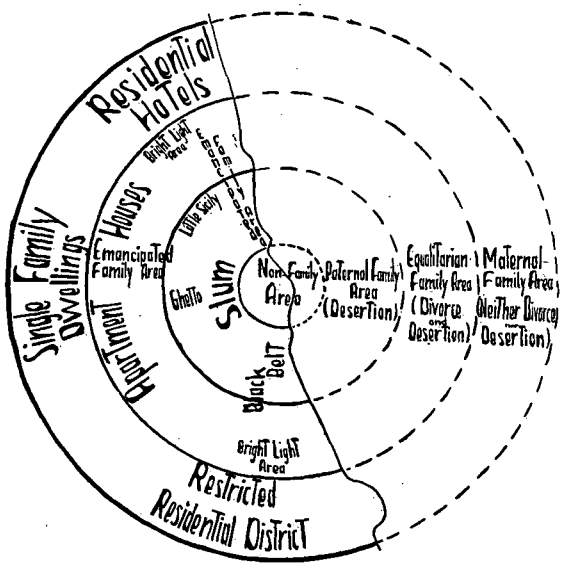
The areas of the emancipated family are the districts of rooming-houses and kitchenette-apartments, and residential hotels. The so-called "emancipated" family feels itself freed from the conventions which have been the anathema of feminism. There are no children, or very few; relations with the neighborhood are casual, of the "touch-and-go" sort; the interests of both husband and wife lie outside the home; both are employed for the most part, though not necessarily.

Paternal family areas are those of the workers, characteristic of the tenement areas and the immigrant colonies such as the Ghetto and Little Sicily, where the husband rules the home. The families are large. The interests of the wife are confined to the affairs of the home and the care of the children.

The equalitarian family areas are the residential districts wherein live the middle and professional classes. Here there are children, though families tend to be small. There is the maximum of equality in the relationship between husband and wife. The wife has interests outside the home, delegating the care of the children largely to a nurse-maid.

The maternal family areas are those of the commuter, primarily the neighborhoods of the upper bourgeoisie. These outlying districts are characterized by single houses, typically bungalows, and large yards. There are children here also. The wife tends naturally to become the head of the family, at least so far as neighborhood relations are concerned, for the husband is absent from home most of the twenty-four hours. Any interest taken in the affairs of the community falls to the wife.

In a city the size of Chicago these five different types of areas tend to take an idealized form of concentric circles. The first or innermost circle is that of the non-family areas—the downtown business district. The second circle represents the paternal family areas. In this area land values are high, but the buildings are not adapted to the uses to which the land will eventually be put by the invading commercial and industrial development. Until the invasion is complete, low rents make this district a favorable location for immigrant colonies, rooming-houses and vice. The emancipated family is found here also, though it is hardly characteristic. In fact, the areas of the emancipated family tend to lie along the boundaries of other areas, following the lines of rapid transportation.



Family Areas in Chicago

With reference to family life, five types of areas may be found in Chicago. Each of these is closely correlated with a certain kind and amount of family disorganization

The third circle is that of the equalitarian family areas. This is the true apartment area where the family may move from time to time but is likely to stay within the same general community for a considerable length of time. Transportation is by surface cars, elevated railways, automobiles, motor coaches, subways, and steam railways. Beyond this is the outer circle of the suburbs or the maternal family areas of single houses where the automobile and the commuters' special are the chief means of transportation.

How may the varying characteristics of these different family areas help to explain disorganization in the family life within them?

In seventy communities in Chicago, family disintegration shows a range from no cases at all during 1919, the year studied, to 68 broken marriages per 10,000 of population. (Chapter V, Family Disorganization, discusses the source of these data and gives a detailed table of rates.) This means that within Chicago there is as great a range in the practice of family disintegration as in the whole of the United States, excluding Nevada. And yet here the legislative and administrative factors are constant while for the United States (*Continued on page* 334)

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What Women Are Thinking

The Y.W.C.A. Talks It Over

By Mrs. ABEL J. GREGG

SINCE its beginning the Young Women's Christian Association has concerned itself with the problems of women at work in industry and the professions, as well as those of women at leisure. Recent contacts with its large and diverse membership, however, have revealed the pressure of a basic problem implicit in the others, the adjustment of the individual within her family group, comprising such questions as parental dominance; emotional instability; the choice of matrimony versus a job, or of matrimony plus a job; the lessening opportunities for early marriage; the home responsibilities and emotional adjustment of unmarried women; and the changing ideal of marriage in the minds of women from the concept of the husband as sole provider, head, and autocratic director of the family, to one of comradeship in economic, family and social matters.

The greater freedom of the younger generation in relation to those of the opposite sex, the freer discussion of sex matters, and the evidences of a breakdown of former conventions and repressions, have caused a jarring impact on the emotions of the slightly older girls as well as of those of the previous generation. The young women in their twenties, denied the freedom and the possibly questionable information which their younger sisters possess, were seeking enlightenment on the problems of love and marriage. Groups of engaged girls, with pathetic eagerness, clustered around secretaries and lecturers, asking particularly with searching questions, how family adjustment could be brought about, and requesting scientific information as to the psychological, physiological, moral, and social aspects of marriage relations.

All this was evidence that the family setting, the setting of both the parental home and the new home to be founded, was a legitimate and fruitful field in which the Association might minister to the all-around living and thinking of its members. Therefore, in the autumn of 1924, the Education and Research Division of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. organized a project group called the Commission on the Family in the Life of To-day.

The Commission thought of its task as including five main categories: the family in the life of today; the child in the family; women in the family; modern marriage; and the emotional adjustment of unmarried women. It was recognized that any one of these topics might well be the study of a lifetime, and yet all were of such immediate and vital concern to the Association's membership that any attempt to leave out one was met by an out-cropping of demands for help in that particular realm.

The Commission decided to go about its work not by arranging for lecturers or reading groups in these general areas, but to encourage the thinking of members by organizing discussion groups under able leadership, with one or two members in each group who were well equipped by study of the subject under discussion to participate as need arose. These discussion groups were designed to discover the degree of consciousness of problems of family life in the minds of the group; to reveal to the Commission where these individuals stood in their opinions and possible prejudices, and where their greatest needs and interest lay; and to reveal to individual members their own emotions, prejudices, and inhibitions by a process of group and self-analysis.

THE choosing of these subjects and this method of approach to problems where dogmatic pronouncements have been rife, is significant of a real desire on the part of the Commission for truth-seeking by individuals. It bears out the comment of young people today that dogma is not a sufficient answer for their problems; that the power to discriminate and judge personal values must be built up by actual practice in discriminating. It further shows the Association has a willingness to keep pace with changing interests and emphases. Ten or fifteen years ago, the interests of many young women were centered in political and labor problems. Nowadays, the central focus has shifted from such so-called "social causes" to "personal situations."

As a means of achieving some measure of its purpose, the Commission outlined the procedure of its discussion groups, according to a "pattern discussion outline," a method which carries the endorsement of recognized educational experts as an effective means of breaking down prejudices and building a foundation for intelligent opinion for its participants by the following four steps: identification and accurate description of the problem; definition of issues involved for all parties concerned in the problem; recognizing, evaluating, and choosing possible solutions; the choosing of ways and means for acting upon the chosen solution. Of course, there are baffling family problems which as yet seem beyond the limit of "identification" or "possible solution," but the discussion method seemed to point toward the educational objective of the Commission: to encourage women to do their own thinking.

Before launching into a discussion of a given subject it was arranged to have the groups take

The Y. W. C. A. has become increasingly aware of the perplexities of its members in the face of the rapidly changing conditions in the life of women in industry and in the home, and inside and outside of marriage. Two years ago a Commission on the Family in the Life of Today was organized to plan study and discussion groups on family problems. Mrs. Gregg, vice-chairman of the commission, tells of the ideas and attitudes which the commission found in its work with women of many classes in many parts of the United States.

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a "word test" and an "opinion test" to reveal to themselves the areas of their greatest interest, prejudice, ignorance, or open-mindedness. These are based on the form and method of tests devised by Dr. Goodwin B. Watson of Columbia University, covering the general areas of the five main categories planned by the Commission. Specific subjects for discussion were agreed upon after the informal and sometimes amusing preliminary tests had broken the ice, releasing the tension and self-consciousness of the group.

THE Commission used the tests and discussion material during the summer of 1925 in four community conferences, composed of some industrial and business girls, as well as of general members and volunteer and secretarial leaders of city and town associations, in the Central, Rocky Mountain, Southern and Eastern regions, and in one student conference in the Northeastern region. The total attendance in these discussion groups was more than five hundred.

The members ranged from a fairly homogeneous group of students of college age to community conference groups ranging in age from 18 to 50, and an educational background varying from grammar school to Ph. D. The majority were unmarried, although there was a sprinkling of married women delegates and volunteer advisers. There were a few foreign-born and more of foreign parentage. There were girls and women from industry, business, and the professions. In short, the 500 or more were a veritable cross-section of young women in these United States. Such distinct types stand out as a shy, little Mexican girl from San Antonio, who sat in the front row at a western conference with a face glowing with interest, but who could not muster courage to participate until the last days when "ways and means" of carrying out attempts at solution were being discussed. Then she struggled to her feet, telling in halting, broken English of the "foolishness" of some of the factory girls with whom she worked, and asking, "Please tell me, can I help them know what I learned from here?"

THE first test included forty-one words. It was designed to measure the spontaneous reaction of the individual members, who were asked to cross out rapidly the words that suggested more that was disagreeable than agreeable, more annoying than pleasing, and more antagonizing than appealing. The list of words with the total score of the 519 women and girls enrolled in groups in the summer of 1925 is given in the adjoining table.

Analysis of the test scores was attempted but the Commission realized that the findings cannot be regarded as scientific because of the various interpretations put upon the words by groups from different localities. However, it may be of interest to note that in the test 75 per cent of the total of 519 found the term "unmarried mother" unpleasant, but within the separate groups the proportion who found the term disagreeable ranged from 54 per cent of a group of eastern volunteers, who probably had a background of social work, to 96 per cent of a group of eastern business girls. "Old maid" was displeasing to 50 per cent of a group of industrial girls in Pennsylvania, to 65 per cent of the eastern college girls and to 52 per cent of a mixed western group, while only 4 per cent of the eastern business girls and 9 per cent of the eastern volunteer workers found the term unpleasant. The business girls found "bachelors" no more annoying than "old maids," but among the volunteer workers "bachelor" was crossed out twice as often as "old maid." As a whole, the groups found "old maid" more distasteful than "bachelor." To the industrial groups neither "homemaker" nor "housekeeper" was unpleasant. With the other groups, all except the volunteer workers found "housekeeper" slightly more unpleasant than "homemaker."

The confusion and inconsistency of thinking which were apparent throughout the discussions is illustrated by the different reactions to words of similar import. For instance, the term "professional woman" was not disagreeable to any of the industrial or business girls, while "economic independence" with somewhat the same connotation, was unpleasant to 6 per cent of the industrial and to 16 per cent of the business girls. Again, none of the industrial group objected to "equal rights" but 22 per cent found Carrie Chapman Catt's name displeasing; and while only 13 per cent of the college group crossed out "equal rights," 36 per cent felt an unpleasant reaction to Mrs. Catt's name.

In the discussion of the tests, the members were asked to describe the associations and mental pictures which arose in their minds as they crossed out certain words. This analysis revealed their wide divergence in feeling and opinion and enabled them to trace these feelings back to some specific source. They were asked then to classify these sources under such headings as home training; personal experience and observation; consideration of reliable data; or books, papers and magazines, and so on.

THIS process of self-analysis provided some amusing moments when the inconsistencies of their scores were revealed. One girl who endorsed all the liberal women's movements had crossed out Mrs. Catt's name, and finally found it was simply because she did not like the sound of

What Displeases Y Members.
The score of a spontanous reaction test by 519 women and girls

	Crossed out by		Crossed out by
Victorian	104	Nun	305
Ma Ferguson	224	Home	1
Homemaker	10	Unmarried mother	401
Flapper	333	Joan of Arc	2
Feminism	105	Widow	55
Equal rights	43	Psychology	15
Ladies Home Journal	22	Housekeeper	23
Baby	19	Jane Addams	16
Mme. Schumann-Heink	14	Petting	391
Bobbed Hair	37	Kuchen, Kirche, Kinder	135
Mary Pickford	52	Old maid	270
Bachelor	92	Carrie Chapman Catt	81
Sex expression	255	Divorce	373
Roosevelt	15	Widower	74
Smoking	348	Judge Florence Allen	15
Mother	0	Woman preacher	124
Tradition	52	Single standard	81
Chivalry	15	Stepmother	167
Professional woman	13	Mary Garden	82
Queen Marie of Roumania	43	Personality	0
Economic Independence	24		

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it. Another who was equally liberal in her views, confessed to an unpleasant reaction to "economic independence" because she had disliked a woman whom she had once heard discuss it. Several groups unanimously declared that they failed as a whole to base their thinking on consideration of reliable data and whole-heartedly set about to scrutinize the sources of all their attitudes.

The opinion test comprised a series of statements representing common points of view ranging from ultra-liberal to ultra-conservative and reactionary. They were graded by the women who took the tests in five different categories: absolutely true, probably true, undecided, probably false, absolutely false. Here again the scores indicated a wide range of opinion as well as confused and contradictory attitudes within the individual herself. For example the statement: "There is only one valid cause of divorce, unfaithfulness," was considered absolutely true by 19 per cent of the 519, while 24 per cent marked it absolutely false. Again, the statement: "Marriage is a sacrament and its regulation, therefore, should be in the hands of the church," brought a range of opinion from 32 per cent who believed this entirely true to 15 per cent who believed it utterly false. When it came to "a husband and wife should think alike on all vital matters," 20 per cent were positive that this statement is true and 39 per cent were equally sure that it is false.

THE most positive agreement came when exactly 62 per cent agreed that the following statements were absolutely or probably true: "Men and women should share equally in the initiative of finding and choosing mates"; "Broken homes are the chief causes of juvenile delinquency"; and "Nothing excuses women's having sex relationships outside of marriage." There was agreement, also, when 72 per cent believed that the statement, "Homemaking, if well done, is a full time job," was absolutely or probably true, and when 70 per cent felt convinced that "A woman will find her truest self-expression through her husband and her children."

The group strongly agreed that the following statements were absolutely or probably false: "No girl can be popular today who does not pet" (76 per cent) and "There never have been any women geniuses and there never will be," and "It is better to be unhappily married than not to be married at all," both of which were condemned by 85 per cent.

An interesting discrepancy was indicated in the problem of homemaking versus career, when 72 per cent considered it true or probably true that "Homemaking is a full time job," 70 per cent thought "Women's truest self-expression is in a husband," while 40 per cent think "Every woman wants a career as well as a family." A range of opinion which indicates an interesting field for discussion lies in the score for "A woman should have as many children as God sends her," where 17.1 per cent marked this as absolutely true, 8.6 per cent as probably true, 22.6 per cent as doubtful or undecided, 13.1 per cent as probably false, and 13.4 per cent as absolutely false.

AS in the word test, differences in interpretation affected the score, but it seems just to conclude that these girls and women were greatly confused and puzzled in their thinking, and lacking in knowledge in realms which might be considered peculiarly their own. Further, they were most eager for opportunities to formulate their ideas and to become more articulate in their expression by acquaintance with text-books and by the scientific data presented by experts in their groups. This eagerness for opportunities to discuss and consider outside points of view was particularly gratifying in the view of their prejudices and emotional conditioning, which were revealed to themselves, particularly in the word test.

Many found that the source of their attitudes toward a subject was due to wrong educational methods, wrong information, or to lack of information. This was especially true in matters of sex where strong fears, repressions, and inhibitions were general. It was evident, however, that the greater freedom of discussion of sex in newspapers and cheap magazines, in novels and on the stage had led even the most fearful and timid to seek authoritative information to offset the cheap exploitation of sex to which young people are exposed. As one Oklahoma girl of 22 expressed it, "The girls younger than we are seem to know much more about life than we do. I don't believe they have got their information from the right sources, but they believe that we older girls are 'slow' and don't know anything. How can we find out the truth and help them?"

In some of the student groups the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association have arranged for frank discussions on sex matters between men and women. At a joint conference of college men and women in the summer of 1926, Dr. Edith Hale Swift of the American Social Hygiene Association gave a long morning to these eager young people, who asked that the schedule of meetings be changed to allow for a continuation of her regular hour. Question after question was answered by Dr. Swift, in whom the students found at last an authority from whom they could ask the things that they had long wanted to know. As one expressed it, "What a relief to know these simple facts which we have been led to believe it was evil for us even to want to know!"

OTHER experiences of the 1926 summer conferences revealed the interest in matters pertaining to the family and the need for the Family Commission to extend the organization of discussion groups for all ages and types of memberships. The Girl Reserve Conferences, for girls under 18, are organized throughout on the democratic principle of allowing the interest of the girls themselves to dictate the subjects for their discussion and study, and often the discussion on "Life and I" veered to the question of family adjustment. At one Girl Reserve Camp in the Middle West, the following conclusions were agreed upon: "Girls should be given all the facts and information they will need for making decisions, and then be allowed to make them and take responsibility for them." "Give girls the facts about life." "If the parents are unwilling to talk, girls have the right to go to others for facts." "Mothers and girls ought to read together books on the things girls want and need to know." "Fathers and mothers ought to be helped to think more of home as a place of security from which the children can seek adventure only because there is a place where they are secure—a place on which they can depend."

A discussion group at a community conference in the East under the Family Commission afforded a place where business girls and older women, with some mothers among them, faced one another frankly over questions of adjustments between older and younger family members. Some of

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the factors discussed as affecting family happiness, were: selfishness on the part of both old and young; lack of democracy in the home; jealousy; favoritism; lack of understanding of the new freedom of youth, especially by foreign mothers; discrimination as to advantages given boys and girls; failure to give sex education; the feeling of inferiority in parents whose children are better educated than they are; and the tendency of parents to want to live their children's lives for them.

Cases to illustrate these points were presented from the experiences of some individuals in the group who were able to express an objective statement of their own family problems. One girl gave an impersonal account of the problem of a jealous step-mother recounting without emotion the factors in a trying situation and her various attempts to better it. The rest of the group were thus helped to the conclusion expressed by one girl: "When we can see our grievances as objective problems to be solved, it brings relief from the grievances!" An older woman added: "The girls' grievances make up their mothers' problems, and the mothers' grievances form the chief problems for the girls."

This group expressed the strong conviction that "child study" was the fundamental point for constructive effort if the family were to function properly and not perpetuate the maladjustments under which it now suffers. Practically all of the group asked for a bibliography for study in mental hygiene for children. Other solutions for family problems were "more democracy in the home" and "more respect for the personalities of all members of the household, old and young."

A HEATED discussion resulted from a consideration of whether women should work after marriage. The older women all were against it with strong emotion, while several younger members had personal experience to offer. One young woman said, "I don't believe in women working after marriage. I waited five years to be married and worked and saved for our home. And now that I am married I don't want to work outside my home." Another replied, "I got married at once, and worked for four years afterwards, until we could build our home. I'm glad I had those four years with my husband, even if I did have to work."

The discussion calmed down with a listing of the values gained and lost by women's work. No attempt was made, however, to achieve unanimity. The purpose of the discussion was served by having each group recognize the values held by others.

The younger members of the group held an extra session to discuss their special problems, and birth control, considered from the two angles of creating and preserving the family, emerged as the topic of chief interest. It was felt that birth control would improve the family by limiting the creation of new lives to mothers who were physically fit, and to homes where support would be adequate. It was agreed that for the sake of preserving the family, birth control must not be excessive, while lack of knowledge of birth control tended to break down the family by preventing a satisfactory emotional adjustment between husband and wife. The advantage of continence versus contraceptives as a method of birth control was discussed but no conclusions were reached, because of the lack of available scientific information.

A LETTER from the leader of one of last summer's conferences in the West summarizes the general experience in the groups: "Their theories were hard and fast, but their actual living and feeling were better than their theories." As the report of the Family Commission on the preliminary work in the summer of 1925 declared: "Response was immediate, both as to subject matter and method of discussion. A tabulation of the records of the tests and discussions made two points clear. First, the great concern for better family life, which was accompanied by very confused thinking and a lack of reliable or scientific information in many important areas such as marriage and divorce, activities of married women outside the home, women's concern with sex, and so on; second, a strong emotional set which made it seem unlikely that they woud acquit adequate data without deliberate effort and help from outside sources.

"There was no doubt as to the high degree of consciousness of the problems of family life in the minds of the group members, nor of the wholesome effects of frank and impersonal discussion of matters which have been usually left in the realm of emotions, leading to a sense of grievance, helplessness, revolt, or repression. The releasing effect of attempted recognition and identification of underlying causes for certain emotions, prejudices, and inhibitions, and the translating, as one girl expressed it, 'of grievances into problems to be solved,' seemed helpful and worthwhile."

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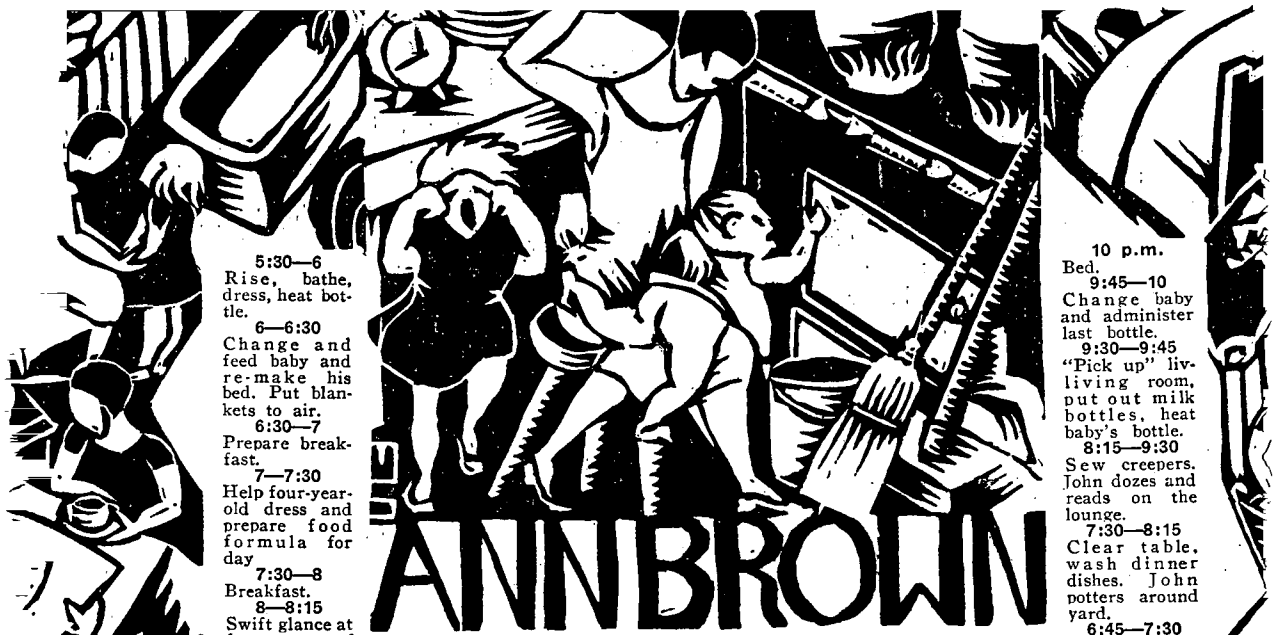

UP: ANN BROWN

By Beulah Amidon

Safe in Woman's Place

Graduated from the state university, 1917

Taught in local schools, 1917-18

Promoted. "One of our best young teachers — I'm afraid the city schools will soon take her." 1918-19

Married John Doe, rising young journalist. Gave up teaching job, moved to the city with John and undertook housekeeping job, 1919

Housekeeping, bridge, clubs, etc., 1919-21

Daughter arrived; John got a raise, 1922

Son arrived, 1925

Present status:

John's salary $250 a month. They live in a four-room bungalow on a tiny lot in an unfashionable suburb, so far out that theatres, concerts, lectures and old friends are beyond reach. Ann "does all her own work," except the washing and sometimes part of the ironing for which she has a woman who "comes in," half a day a week, cost $2 and carfare. Daughter is unhappy, whining, bad-mannered, a nuisance rather than a joy. Ann worries about her cruelly, realizing that to have a happy, joyous child one must spend more time and money and patience and thought than she can give her little girl. The baby is "delicate." Ann had to work full time to the day of his birth, and resume her job when he was three weeks old. John begins to feel tired and discouraged. There never seems to be money enough. Ann doesn't have time or buoyancy for "play." His office complains that he is "losing his punch." His is not a conquering mood.

5:30—6 Rise, bathe, dress, heat bottle.

6—6:30 Change and feed baby and re-make his bed. Put blankets to air.

6:30—7 Prepare breakfast.

7—7:30 Help four-year-old dress and prepare food formula for day

7:30—8 Breakfast.

8—8:15 Swift glance at front page of paper, speed the parting husband, shut front gate and send four-year-old out to her sand-pile.

8:15—8:30 Clear breakfast table, make grocery list, receive ice man and mop up after him.

8:30—8:45 Spank daughter who climbed over fence. Answer telephone. Dismiss peddler. Put baby's wash to soak.

8:45—9:30 Wash dishes, make beds, slick up living room, rescue four-year-old from (1) bumped head; (2) flower bed (John's tulips beyond rescue) (3) caterpillar.

9:30—9:50 Accumulate baby's bath and bathe baby.

9:50—10 Put vegetables through sieve. Heat milk.

10—10:20 Feed baby and locate him in carriage asleep.

10:20—10:30 Slip on clean smock, superficially wash four-year-old, start to grocery store.

10:30—11:30 Buy meat and groceries at cash and carry, saving twenty-one cents. Speak to plumber about sink, gotten beyond first aid. Exchange news with two neighbors. Slap daughter's hands for meddling with fruit display. Buy her all-day sucker "to get some peace." Walk home.

11:30—12 Locate baby in pen. Prepare lunch. Answer telephone as lunch is on table.

12—12:10 Re-heat vegetables and milk.

12:10—12:45 Give four-year-old's lunch, eating hasty meal herself.

12:45—1 Give baby orange juice. Settle both children for naps.

1—1:15 Clear away lunch.

1:15—2 Baby's washing.

2—2:30 Change baby, give him two o'clock bottle, put him in pen out of doors.

2:30—3 Bathe and dress four-year-old. Send her out to play in yard.

3—3:30 Cut out baby's new creepers.

3:30—4:15 Chat with neighbor who drops in. Make buttonholes, scold four-year-old who doesn't want to play in yard, pay garbage collector, write down recipe for Fruit Fluff, dispose of sewing machine salesman.

4:15—4:30 Change baby—all his clothes this time.

4:30—5 Prepare vegetables for dinner. Make dessert. Fix daughter's supper.

5—5:30 Give four-year-old her supper.

5:30—5:45 Set table, put meat and vegetables to cook.

5:45—6 Give baby cereal and undress him.

6—6:30 Undress four-year-old. Husband arrives. Get children to bed, both protesting vigorously.

6:30—6:45 Put dinner on table.

6:45—7:30 Dinner. Potatoes somewhat scorched. Ann tired, mussy and impatient. There seems to be nothing to talk about except daughter's behavior and son's stomach.

7:30—8:15 Clear table, wash dinner dishes. John potters around yard.

8:15—9:30 Sew creepers. John dozes and reads on the lounge.

9:30—9:45 "Pick up" living room, put out milk bottles, heat baby's bottle.

9:45—10 Change baby and administer last bottle.

10 p.m. Bed.

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JANE SMITH

Linoleum Cuts by Margaret Schloemann

7—7:30
Rise, bathe, dress, help four-year-old with buttons.

7:30—8
Breakfast.

8—8:15
Confer with housekeeper.

8:15—8:30
Richard and Jane walk to nursery school with daughter.

8:30—9
Jane to her office, reading morning paper en route.

9—9:20
Morning mail.

9:20—9:30
Brief chat with friend and fellow-worker, back from month on the Coast.

9:30—11
Dictate letters and give directions to secretary.

11—12
Informal staff conference—a stimulating gathering of friends, engaged in an absorbing joint enterprise.

12—1:30
Lunch with national authority in her field, discussing his forthcoming book.

1:30—3
Cut and edit promising mss. Outline her department for next issue.

3:30—4
Read over and sign letters. Glance through and part her second class mail.

4—4:15
Gentle conversation with shy, aspiring author.

4:15—5
Read first chapters of book she is to review for next issue.

5—5:30
Ride home, continuing book en route Find four-year-old finishing supper.

5:30—6
Help four-year-old undress Read her a good night story. Richard home.

6—6:30
Undress baby and give him supper.

6:30—6:45
Freshen up for dinner.

6:45—8
Dinner. Two friends in. Good talk.

8:30—11
New play.

11:30
Home and to bed.

Out in the World:

Graduated from the state university, 1917
Worked on the local paper, 1917-18
Got an humble job on a city paper, 1918-19
Married Richard Roe, rising young journalist, 1919
Got a raise. So did Richard. 1920
Took a staff position on a weekly magazine. Richard got another raise, 1921.
Daughter arrived. Jane took four months off, two before and two after, and then worked part time two months. 1922
Jane got a raise. So did Richard. 1924
Son arrived. Four months off again, and two months part time. 1925

Present status:

Jane is earning $250 a month, Richard $350. They have a sunny six-room apartment in an unfashionable neighborhood with the use of the back yard. Their daughter is in nursery school, 8.30 to 5, daily, under the best modern care, physical and intellectual. Cost, $50 a month. A housekeeper who has had two years hospital training cares for the baby and does the general housework at a salary of $80 a month with board and room. Laundry and heavy cleaning are done by Mandy, one day a week, $4 and carfare.

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The Idle Forties

By ZONA GALE

AS civilization has released us to more of one kind of leisure and has at the same time devoured us by changed occupations, women have found themselves with both more leisure and less leisure, and their standards have shifted. More leisure often means to them, so far, an acceptance of the aristocratic valuation of leisure as idleness and amusement, looking down on toil. Certain occupations serve only to emphasize the possession of leisure—golf, bridge, teas are leisure re-draped. Men are less concerned in the adjustment, for in America all but a negligible group—must still work. In American fiction, if men appear at a tea or a day-wedding, it is noted that they "got off" for the occasion; and if they linger at a winter hotel, their health is the explanation. But of a woman no such excuse is demanded. This has been a quick shift. It is not many years ago that an aunt of mine, on seeing me resting, observed: "I don't blame you a bit": and I was excited to hear thus speak her pioneer blood, which had always itself flowed swiftly all day long, in some task. From being blameworthy, leisure in American women has quickly become not only condoned but, especially in the cities, praiseworthy.

The little towns, notably, of the Middle West, are still in the pioneer atmosphere. Here it still is a reproach not to know how to do housework and to cook. One bride of a well-to-do man, coming to such a town, won it by shoveling a path through the sidewalk snow one glittering morning. On the other hand, in a small Virginia town, as in some New England towns, if a woman were to sweep her own veranda or to be seen washing a window, social ostracism would follow.

OLDER women who recognize these changing standards, are sometimes caught in a confusion. The California hotels are filled in winter with women who confess complete ignorance of cooking, of cooking ranges, ironing and sewing, even though their hands sometimes indicate that their early years may have been spent in places where not to know such things was rather the reproach. The aristocratic standard is creeping into the small towns. A woman whose maid-for-general-housework had left abruptly, herself failed at some baking, and observed irritably that she "couldn't cook in a strange oven"; and everyone rather liked her carrying it off. And of another who let the ironing-board fall on her foot, a niece remarked proudly: "She just doesn't know how to use it." The aristocratic psychology, it is observable, is the general male psychology toward women. The man has always been publicly proud of the idleness of the women of his household—could he not keep them in idleness?

The sharpest strain of this shift from a democratic standard of work to an aristocratic standard of leisure falls upon the women in the forties—the well-to-do women whose children are away at school or busy, whose own dreams have been postponed or forgotten, who have never yet had all the good times that they wanted. And a little circle of the like-minded will make up the "country club crowd" of all the little towns. They are not unaware of intellectual obligations—the whole study and civic club movement of the 'nineties in the United States came from just these women in the forties. But that was in the 'nineties. Now even those meet dutifully once a week or once a fortnight for whom bridge and teas, golf and motoring, dancing and "shows" do incontestably fill the major part of the time. Whereas in the smaller towns these women assume entire care of their own homes, there is yet left an amazing amount of leisure for amusement.

ADDITIONAL leisure, in itself, can have in the end nothing but a salutary effect. But at this moment the ways in which that leisure is being spent by a small minority may well be far from salutary. The "young intellectuals" are safe—they regard all such occupations as boring. Radicals have no envy of bourgeois amusements; all the socialized are untouched, too busy even to deplore. You even hear the younger social set observing: "Mrs.— leads the most useless life of anybody in town." Constantly you hear, of such an one: "Wouldn't you think that she would adopt a child?" You hear even the "splelndid idle forties" themselves say: "I haven't done a thing this summer. Next summer I'm going to do some things I've planned—" evidencing a hazy awareness of lack of pattern. And this is observable: That the best among them *are looking forward, from some impermanence of condition to some permanence.* "Some day I must. . . ." Perhaps so strong is the American prepossession in favor of work that it is doubtful whether any amount of ill-spent leisure can for generations successfully alter the psychology to one of wholehearted deliverance to uselessness.

"Someday I must. . . ." It is the national idea. John Smith and Benjamin Franklin are still in us. But we have more than they. We know that the Declaration of Independence should have provided for life, liberty, leisure, and the pursuit of happiness. We know that as we grow, so the right to leisure, like the right to health and a living wage, shall grow with us. But something else shall grow, and that is some knowledge of how to use leisure, which those who have already attained it rarely have known.

IT will mean the socialization of leisure.

We have every right to look to women in the forties and the fifties to make a beginning of some such contribution. It would bear no relation to their clubs, their hobbies, their "philanthropies." It would consist in a recognition that they who are the first among Americans to achieve leisure are bound to organize that leisure. If these released women continue to use their growing leisure for going completely over, in their small way, to the aristocratic routine of amusement, one more dream of democracy will have been delayed.

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What Are Parents For?

By FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M. D.

Drawings by Helen B. Phelps

IT isn't economic conditions alone that are changing the American home so rapidly. These forces are, at the moment, so strong that they would undoubtedly make for some reorganization, even under conditions more unfavorable to them; but these economic forces (which are, of course, but a partial expression of a still larger force) are aided and abetted by conditions within the home itself. It is not so much the struggle of one set of forces against another set of forces as it is the joining up of two streams of forces. Were the home not under the present economic pressure, the same result eventually would be brought about by the dynamic forces within the home itself. The economic forces add pace to this change, and little more, and although many are, as always, disturbed by the fact of change itself, the more thoughtful and understanding will concern themselves mostly with this element of pace.

It is bootless to be disturbed by the forces themselves—they will and must work themselves out until a better equilibrium in the satisfaction of living is reached; for they represent the pouring forth of human energy searching for satisfactory utilization. There may be concern, however, as to the pace. Were one set of forces alone at work, either the economic or those within the home, an evolutionary process of steady and satisfactory development with moderately paced alterations in various directions might be contemplated, but with both lines of forces critically active at the same time and consequently augmenting and accelerating each other, a revolutionary process with all the exaggerations, follies and wastefulness of revolutions, as well as the final more satisfactory adjustment of human relations, is probably to be expected.

The home does not offer a sufficient, suitable emotional outlet for the average person who enters upon homemaking. It might form a suitable outlet for the greater part of the individual's emotional interests, but it does not. This is, in part, because of the present organization of the home; it is in larger part because of the undeveloped emotional equipment of the individual himself. Unknowingly he, or she, makes demands upon the home that are altogether unreasonable and cannot be fulfilled, in which case it is not the institution itself that is at fault but the expectation of the individual. This much may be said—

A home is an adult institution. For two emotionally adult individuals it offers an outlet for the greater part—not all, of course—of their emotional needs. But emotionally adult individuals are not to be found at every fireside. Individuals well adjusted in the home and successful in the business, professional and social world are to be found, but their number is not an evidence of the number of adult individuals in the community. This adjustment—satisfactory in itself from a practical standpoint—may not be upon an adult level. Fortunately—for the individual—he (or she) has succeeded in making a reasonably satisfactory adjustment for himself—but at whose expense? At the sacrifice of the emotional lives of how many individuals, in the home, the office, the neighborhood? Such an adjustment is, of course, not an adult adjustment. In spite of the badges, medals and monuments it is adjustment upon a very low level of emotional development. Emotional adulthood cannot be judged by the degree of worldly prominence, power or authority one may have attained. Certain types of striving in themselves give evidence of lack of emotional development; and the success of the striving does not alter the level from which it sprung.

When one considers, therefore, the number of those individuals whose domestic difficulties by their very nature are obviously due to lack of emotional development and those ordinarily considered happy, well adjusted and successful, but whose very strivings and methods show an equal lack of development, one is prepared to find in examining an institution so dependent upon adult emotional development as the home a complex situation full of difficulties.

At twenty-one an individual becomes officially an adult. Urged by his physical needs and by what seem to be, and are to a varying degree, new emotional needs, he marries. He has an able body, we may assume, and a reasonably well trained, perhaps specially trained, intellect. With these two he can maintain his home economically and all is well, if to maintain it, in an economic sense, were all he had to do. It is so much the lesser part after all; in fact, his efficiency in this direction will itself be so dependent upon other factors.

The young husband and wife, regardless of either coarse or euphemistic expressions, are seeking outlets for both physical and emotional needs and in an association that contains healthful and beautiful possibilities. The wise, however, who have assisted in the ceremonies know, without cynicism, that there are difficulties apparently unsurmountable ahead; expect little, only hope for the best. The sentimentalist blinks and smiles his benediction but admits the possible necessity of a period of emotional defla-

Parents are people. Although in thinking generally they tend to become merged in the social group known as "parents," they do remain individuals with emotions, hopes, aspirations—lives to live out. It is unfortunate that they should become slaves of their parenthood. It happens because most people desire to be slaves. When people no longer need to be in slavery to any person or thing—least of all to themselves—perhaps we may begin to have some notion as to what parents are capable of and probably for.

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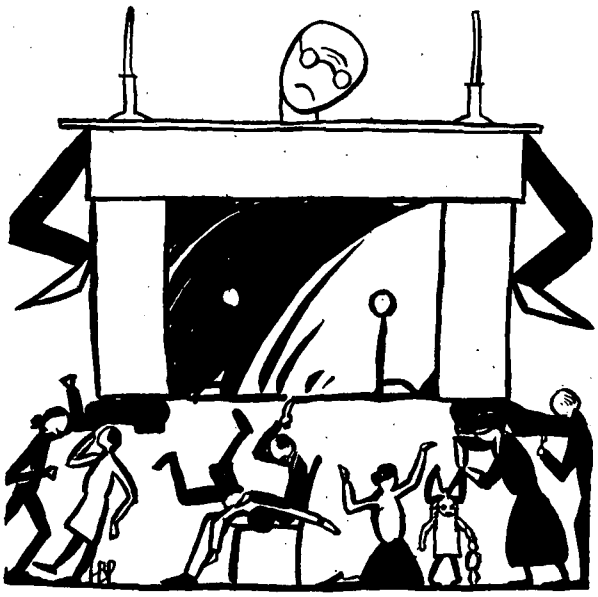
tion; a period of "adjustment," even of disillusionment. For the latter he has many euphemistic terms, and when it comes there readily tumble to his lips the easy words of "unselfishness," "sacrifice," and the like.

DEFLATION does come, sometimes with the speed of a punctured balloon, sometimes with the slow sinking of a leaking balloon and with the same frantic effort to patch—without knowing precisely where the leaks are. Neither has found either the physical or emotional outlets which he or she precisely needs. It is not that a closer, more intimate acquaintance has revealed unfortunate qualities not before suspected. It is not that he is less worthy or she less charming and capable. They are both essentially the same well-intentioned youths, pathetically hungry and desirous, both to give and receive generously, as before; the unpleasant qualities are not so fundamental as new and of the situation born. Neither does the fault lie altogether in the association of the institution itself. The fault lies in the fact that both have been led to believe that the association held for them all that was needed—that they were now men and women and could and should enter upon man's estate. To an association that can successfully offer an outlet for a rich but comparatively narrow range of adult emotional needs, they have brought not only these needs but an impossibly wide range of needs, adolescent, childish, infantile, with the emotional habits and reactions cultivated in meeting these needs carried over from these periods. These needs more often than not carry an insistence far greater than the more newly acquired adult emotional needs.



Although money may have been saved and a cottage built the home is not always the idyllic place of song and story

But old outlets are largely closed to these old needs and the new outlet is altogether insufficient. Frustrated, distraught, tension mounts and the chain of events is entered upon which begins with disillusionment and runs through the scales of unhappiness, unhealthy adjustments, through sacrificial capitulation or infantile, compensatory dominance, to an unsuspectedly frequent end in illness and a not unsuspectedly frequent end in broken homes.

Left to himself, the individual will tend to seek his emotional level and will find fairly satisfactory outlets for his particular extramarital needs. The man has been much more able to do this than the woman and with his activities beyond the home, his vocation, his avocations, his hobbies and diversions has been able to make a reasonably satisfactory life for himself. As his outlets are likely to be forced upon him by circumstances or, at best, blindly chosen, the chances of their meeting the situation adequately are poor, and he frequently carries back into the home, therefore, needs that cannot there be normally satisfied and which must be "taken out" in infantile and childish reactions directed at his wife and children.

The woman, however, forced by the economic situation and brow-beaten by the sentimentalist, has had until recently but limited opportunity. For the good of the home she has been supposed to stay in the home. But it has not been altogether good for the home. It has been in great part ruinous. The only source of relief for her infantile and adolescent needs being her husband and children, she has been forced to use them, and this she has done to their great injury, even destruction. Or, she has become ill—fled into illness—anything from chronic complaining, chronic sick headaches and general weakness to mysterious supposedly undiagnosable organic disease to frank neuroses.

It is interesting to note in this connection, a sidelight thrown by the war. The neuroses had been considered as almost as "feminine" as obstetrical conditions. Men occasionally developed neuroses, to be sure, but the neuroses belonged essentially to women. So general was this belief that during the early years of the war, the fact that "shell-shock" was a neurosis was largely overlooked, as it was held more or less inconceivable that thousands of physically healthy men should become neurotic. But "shell-shock" turned out to be neurosis—when men were placed in a situation which because of the type of their emotional development they were unable to face, they took a course which is not feminine but human—they escaped into illness.

WITH two individuals demanding of a situation more than it can give, with at least one limited almost entirely to this situation, life takes its course over the ups and downs of neurotic victories and compromises.[1] Although money may have been saved and a cottage built, the home is not the idyllic place of song and story. It is a place of conflict, openly acknowledged or bravely denied. Into this children are born and the place becomes one of infection, an infection more pestilential, perhaps, than the bacterial diseases usually so classified. Its ramifications, its worse than deadly nature, its paralyzing effects are only beginning to be perceived. Two hungry adults, frustrated and facing emotional defeat, pounce upon the young arrival in a desperate effort to save themselves. This is done with

(1) As neuroses are not feminine but human, so is this situation not primarily marital but likewise human—a stage in the struggle of men to understand their world and themselves and so to adjust the one to the other as to make the effort worth while. The marital situation, however, deserves special attention because it involves not alone the life of one person or of two persons but the lives of others and through a vicious circle tends to maintain its own destructive elements. Those who do not marry may escape one pit but it is, likely, only to fall into another. Those who do not marry find difficulty in maintaining the adult heterosexual level, which they may have attained, and tend to revert to earlier forms of reaction. They may result in comfortable personal adjustment at earlier levels of no social value, or the conflicts involved may lead to forms of "neuroticism," personally uncomfortable but frequently of social value—when not a social nuisance; the more formal, socially and personally handicapping neuroses are likely to be escaped. At the present time—and after all it is only 1926—an individual in working out his emotional life is likely to find himself between the devil and the deep sea. To those who are able to be interested only in what is possible for themselves, little satisfaction will be gained from this; to those who fortunately are able to be interested in what is possible for the human race, the present phase has an interest that tends at least to some degree to discount personal discomfort.

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the best of intentions and in the name of sentiments and emotions that are fine and which should have reality and meaning but which under the circumstances are false and spurious. In their state of emotional development or lack of emotional development, these two are not capable of acting under these sentiments. It may look the same but it isn't the same. What they have not been able to obtain in their association together, they now seek to obtain from their children. A larger personal success may be attained but at the costly sacrifice of the emotional life and healthy emotional development of the child. A vicious circle is concluded. Emotionally immature parents infect with their own infantile and childish reactions children who are thereby prevented from attaining a healthy emotional maturity themselves and another group of parents is produced as unhappy and inadequate as the first.

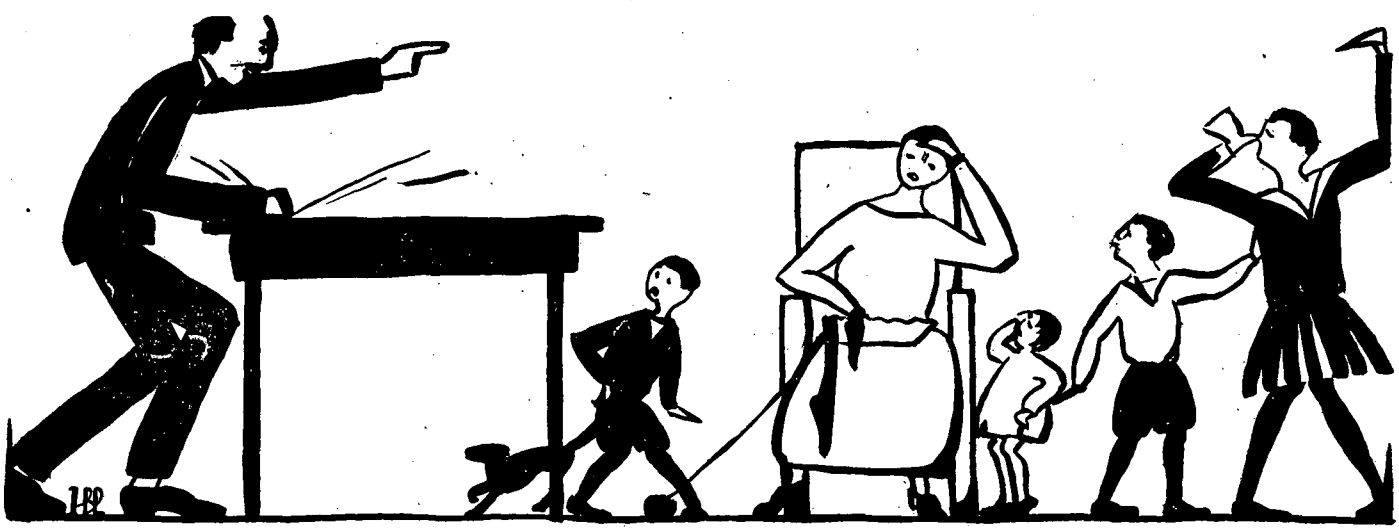
ONLY two courses would seem open: to cure parents of their emotional and neurotic illnesses and make possible for them a belated adulthood; or to encourage them to seek outside the home in vocations, avocations, hobbies and social contacts outlets for their infantile emotional needs that cannot be found within the home except through damage to some individual, but which can be found in considerable variety without the home and where the damage is minimized, or better still, where what damage is done is in considerable part compensated for by socially useful work.

The first of these courses is not possible on a mass scale. Individually much can be done. The father who, because of a childish sense of insecurity and inferiority must be constantly proving to himself his own manhood and does so in the name of "discipline" by browbeating his wife and children and throttling their emotional lives, and the mother who in order to quiet a childish feeling of guilt, in the name of "mother love" and "devotion" so sadly neglects her children by making of herself a sacrifice on the altar of darned stockings and buttons, and the many other types are not such a mystery. To reorganize the energies of such individuals, however, is not a simple matter. Individuals, as they become aware of the nature of their difficulties, will seek in increasing numbers such professional advice as the community offers, but that such individual treatment would ever catch up with the parental procession is, of course, impossible.

Outlets without the home would seem to offer the only possible course and this is only palliative. An individual who finds a vent for his immature emotions in the world at large does not, thereby, cure himself of his difficulty nor increase his emotional stature. However, he does, depending upon the degree of suitability of the outlet, find relief and a greater peace and satisfaction for himself, which is something, and which, so far as parents are concerned, means taking just so many pounds of weight off the backs of children. While it may bring only passable relief to the parent, it tends to bring very great relief to the child and that, after all, must be the principal consideration. He is given something of a chance for a healthy emotional development and the vicious circle is at least cut into. With the circle thus broken and children given a better opportunity to escape the formation of neurotic habits and reactions and with an alert watchfulness in the schools for the first appearance of such reactions as may occur, the possibility of eventual development of an increasingly large group of adult parents becomes conceivable.

To be sure, for a time, the cure in some instances may be worse than the disease. There will be a tendency to attempt too much with fatigue and its own peculiar chain of emotional events entering in to further complicate the situation. Or women, as do men, will enter upon activities, blindly chosen, which will turn out to be unsuitable for their own special needs and there will result further discouragement, disgruntlement and escape into illness. The first will tend to take care of itself; the second will be avoided as the emotional significance of the various vocations, avocations, hobbies and recreations becomes better understood.

WHAT are parents for? Surely no one who reads journals with any degree of frequency expects in an article an answer to any question propounded in a title. To attempt it in many instances would be preposterous and in most, at least presumptuous. But probably one may point out a few things. In the first place, parents are people. Although in thinking generally they tend to become merged into, and to lose their identity (*Continued on page* 335)



The father who, because of a childish sense of insecurity and inferiority must be constantly proving to himself his own manhood and does so in the name of "discipline" by browbeating his wife and children

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Shall We Have a Child?

By JANE SHEPPARD HOLBIN

HERE is the situation as Constant Reader might lay it before the editor of Love's Corner of the evening paper:

> DEAR GLADYS SUNBEAM: I am a young woman twenty-six years of age, medium height, and my husband is fair complexioned and one year my senior. We have been married for a year and a half and have——

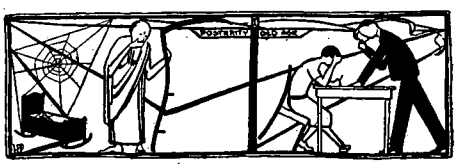
I change the vein. For five years I have been teaching English in a large city high school. My husband teaches science in a private school. My salary is above $3,000 a year. Because of longer training and consequently shorter term of service my husband receives approximately $2,500. Our combined resources allow us an interesting life in accordance with our tastes. But can we have a baby?

I figure that I must stop teaching—at any rate for a year. Then there can be no certainty of any future plans to return. This will reduce our income from approximately $5,500 to the neighborhood of $2,500. A luxury we should never consent to relinquish is expert medical attention. My friends who have babies in the style in which I should wish to have mine tell me that the baby proper costs $1,000 including specialist, hospital, and nurse for one month, but excluding any subsequent medical attention, the expenses entailed in an even slightly larger establishment, a competent child's nurse provided I return to teaching, and a hundred et ceteras. Do a bit of mental arithmetic and discover why we gasp to think of the idea.

Naturally standards of living must be considered in this case. I speak from the point of view of our present *modus vivendi* which, in spite of a skimp here and there, is quite satisfactory, allowing us a part-time maid, entertainment of our friends, the intellectual pursuits in which we are interested, and last year a tourist-class trip abroad. "How extravagant!" says one reader. "How meager and impossible!" says another. Yet we are like other people in so many ways that our circumstances and interests must coincide with those of many other couples.

SO much for our economic problem. It is comparatively easy in solution since it lends itself to approximate mathematical calculation. The ethical aspect demands consideration. I warn the reader ahead of time that the ethical side of the question simply completes the circle of reasoning and leaves us again with pencil in hand.

I am told that the longer we wait the more selfish we shall grow and the less inclined to have children. Rarely, if ever, do people definitely set out to establish a family out of complete selflessness. It is on my selfish days that I most desire to have a child to fondle and teach who might one day return our love with gratitude. It is on my conceited days that I desire to have a child who shall be better trained than my neighbor's children. It is on my proud days that I desire the child who may be the envy of many parents in physical feature, intellectual attainment, and moral courage. On occasion I also hear the whisper of the world, "You, the intelligent, are the ones who should have children to make this world a better place." On that day I smugly believe I have a mission and am puffed up with the self-satisfaction of knowing I possess the physical apparatus to assist in populating this funny world. Is any one of these motives wholely divorced from selfish feelings? Yet we shall be accounted selfish if we deliberately refrain from having children.



Drawing by Helen B. Phelps

Indeed, I rather judge us unselfish in sacrificing the joys children give to parents to pay their way for the trouble and worry they may cost. We are unselfish because we deliberately relinquish those joys rather than produce a human life for which we could not provide our standard of material comfort and intellectual opportunity. At least ideals and inspiration we can give in good measure, but of what profit are they to the economically handicapped individual unless he be a genius? We arrive at our point of departure.

Doubtless we shall be accused of mixing motives, conjuring excuses, and hiding behind false virtues in calling ourselves unselfish when we possibly appear unwilling to sacrifice our modest luxuries and some of our comforts for a family. My husband had to face a childhood of hard work out of which physical weakening has come to offset any moral strengthening which might or might not have resulted. He does not wish to confront our child with the same struggle. My luxuries have always been few, but I have never had to face any material want or worry. I am certain that I have not the courage ever to do so. I feel safe in speaking for both of us, therefore, when I say that if a child meant real sacrifice of what we have set up as material, intellectual and social standards for ourselves and our children, we should no longer be desirable parents. The sentimental virtue of sacrifice would last until the irksomeness of petty saving had strained our dispositions to the ultimate discomfort of all concerned. It is at this point that the opposites, selfishness and unselfishness, nearly coincide.

You may ask, What of the maternal instinct? I mean the maternal instinct as differentiated from the mere urge of reproduction. This force is ever present and ever potent. Were it not for the compelling urge of that instinct, "to have or not to have" would hardly be a question. The problem would resolve itself into one almost as simple as that of deciding whether or not to buy a car or take a trip abroad.

The problem is so involved in a tangle of circumstances, motives, instincts, and ideals that solution seems well nigh impossible. At the present time thus our problem stands. Time dances merrily on oblivious of us growing older each day as we pause ruefully on the path of least economic resistance, sacrificing the joy of parenthood rather than our standards of life for the child we should glory in having.

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They Must Work

By BEULAH AMIDON

LENA is an office cleaner. Her husband used to be a bricklayer, till a "stitch" in his back became chronic. Then he worked on the docks for a time and overstrained himself. "They expect the men to lift, lift, just like they was elephants." So Willy does "odd jobs" in a desultory fashion, and spends an increasing share of his spasmodic earnings for bootleg whiskey. The Schmidts, who are German Catholics, have four children—Katie, ten; Rudy, nine; Hans, six; Nora, five. In the hiatus between Rudy and Hans they had twins, one of whom died at birth, the other three months later. Since Nora's advent, Lena has had two miscarriages. She expects another baby "soon after Christmas."

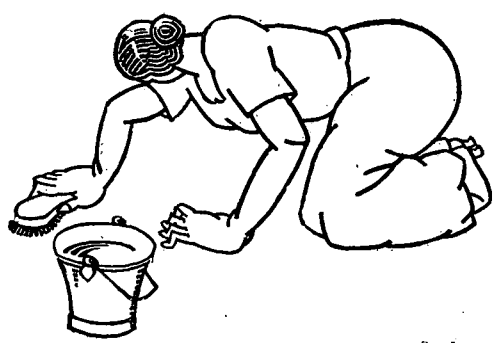
With Willy working only now and then, Lena has to work all the time. In order to attend also to the cooking, washing, ironing, scrubbing, sewing that must be done in a home where there are four young children, Lena goes out to work at both ends of the day and spends six or seven hours between her two wage-earning jobs in housework.

She gets up at half-past four in the morning, prepares the family breakfast, and leaves for her morning job at half-past five. From six to nine she sweeps and mops and dusts in the offices of a large charity organization.

Willy, with Katie's assistance, helps the children dress, eat breakfast and get off to school. Then Willy departs for his job, if he happens to have one, or, if he is not working, for the back room of Ike's place where he finds congenial companionship and whiskey.

Lena comes home about half-past nine, and from then until half-past three "does up the work." The children all come home at noon for a hot dinner. It is their only time with their mother in the twenty-four hours. After dinner the two little ones nap, while the two older ones go back to school till three-thirty. Lena leaves a cold supper on the table, and sets out for her next job a little after three. Sometimes Willy is at home in the afternoon. If not, Hans and Nora take care of themselves till Katie and Rudy get home from school. Then all four play on the street, or entertain themselves indoors if the weather is bad. Sometimes one of the neighbors "runs in," though the neighbors are more and more reluctant about it. Willy is increasingly "ugly."

By four o'clock Lena is cleaning the offices of a public building where she has the care of one floor.



Drawn by Bissill for The Labour Woman

The Scrubber

"If I'm lucky I'm through by half-past eight, but lately I can't work so fast. Most nights it takes till close on ten."

The children eat their supper and put themselves to bed, sometimes with Willy's assistance, more often without. When Lena gets home she usually finds it necessary to "pick up around" before she goes to bed for her few hours of sleep.

Lena earns, with her two jobs, $18.50 a week.

"We get along pretty good when nobody's sick."

Last winter Willy had pleurisy—three lumbar punctures.

"I couldn't leave him and I couldn't stay. It was bad."

In the spring, Hans and Nora had whooping cough. Just before school opened, Rudy broke his arm.

"I can't hardly stand it when they're sick." Lena sighed wearily. "Even when they're all well, it's hard on the children. There's the traffic and all. Streets is bad for children to play."

But the shadow of real terror dimmed Lena's eyes when she added, "Suppose *I* can't work? You can't tell about having baby. I never had one easy and the work make more bad. What happen to my children if anything happen to *me?* That's what I keep thinking."

ANNA, who was born in Hungary, is thirty-one, a tall, deep-bosomed, free-moving creature. Her tawny hair grows thick and soft above her white forehead, her hands are strong and beautiful, her voice is musical. She is so serene and so vigorous that she does not seem to belong to city pavements or to the complex, chattering embroidery machine at which she works. She suggests the fragrant hayfields, the thatched stone barns and houses, the singing and the dancing and the simple peasant merrymaking that are her colorful, sunny, windswept background. Anna married at twenty. Her little girl was born a year later. She supported her husband for three years. Then she divorced him. "He was no good to me. I get along better without that lazy one."

For four years Anna took her baby to the day nursery before she went to work and stopped for her in the evening. But the day nursery would not keep Mary after she was four. Then she boarded the child with a private family at seven dollars a week. She went to see her every evening.

"Those were the hard days."

It was hard to find a family that would give Mary kind and intelligent care. It was hard to find out about the food the child ate and where she (*Continued on page* 340)

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As Children See It

By IRA S. WILE, M.D.

Little pitchers have ears, and emotions as well, and here are some of the echoes of the newer and older ways of family life as they come back to a psychiatrist who specializes in the problems of children.

"MOTHER!" "Mother!" And only an echo answers. "Where is Mother?" and "Is Mother home?" are varieties of childish enquiry that may become obsolete. Social and economic conditions are rapidly changing and the home, in theory and in fact, is changing too.

The modern home is no longer pictured as a hearth, a shrine, or a sacred institution. It is a place of meeting and leaving, a stopping place for food, for shelter and for other forms of comfort or necessity. Its social and spiritual elements are secondary to its practical advantages to the individuals living within home walls. It is rather an aggregate of individuals than a complete unity of personalities. Does the modernized, mechanized home offer rich opportunity for children? Is its social worth increased or diminished by the absence of the mother? Should families be subsidized by the state and be subject to legislative direction?

Generalizations and *a priori* convictions do not answer such questions. Opinions and sentiments are inadequate substitutes for definite facts based upon careful statistical studies and analyses of the factors common in the situation of daily absentee mothering.

Motherhood has been idealized in religion, art, literature and tradition. For a good many centuries the mother has been generally accepted as creator, teacher and protector of youth, although some modern psychologists would make mother love the great emotional hazard for children. The father, recognized as a biologic accessory, has not been elevated to the plane of a socializer and educator of children. His function has been largely inhibitory and supportive of the rules, regulations and principles of guidance developed under maternal direction. Too often he is only "a meal ticket," "a money grubber," "a nuisance around the house," "only Father." Yet he retains a potential influence by his continued membership in the family, despite his incomplete participation in home life. That this influence is not small is recognized by the countless shifts of standards in the home, for better or worse, that occur as a result of his complete absence. Death, desertion or divorce profoundly affect the children, not only directly but by reason of the new pressures and responsibilities placed upon the mother.

THE mother's entrance into industry means for the life of her children a diminution of influence, control and guidance. The working mother may benefit industry and improve the material surroundings of her children but what happens to the less tangible qualities of home life? Only about 25 per cent of the women in industry are married. We do not have facts about the group, nor do we know the age and the number of their children at the time the mothers became wage-earners. Therefore a true picture of their homes has not been painted. But isolated sketches are available which usually relate to the failures of homemaking in low-income groups or the successes among the high-salaried.

Children are in danger of being artificially institutionalized. With parents in industry or out of the home because of a shifting of interests, the opportunities for, and the nature of, practical home training have undergone a marked change. Society has met the situation by recasting some of its ideas. Greater responsibility for children has been assumed by numerous social institutions, such as schools, child-welfare stations, child-guidance clinics, nurseries and now nursery schools and increasing state oversight. There is a social paradox in encouraging the industrialization of women and in promoting a social life that takes them out of the home, and at the same time stressing the importance of the maternal care of children at home by such measures as mothers' and widows' pensions. A similar paradox is found in placing half orphans in institutions at a time when it is regarded as rational and wise to empty orphan asylums and establish children in foster homes. What does the community want for children and what does it believe is essential for the best development of the growing generation?

LET us concede the tremendous variations in homes. Differences in the number of children, their ages and natures, the economic status of the home and the differences in intellectual and cultural standards profoundly affect the juvenile world and particularly the section within the home. The human relations in a home, with all their reactions of life upon life, are more potent in the determination of probable standarads of conduct than any other single factor—and I am inclined to cast out the major claims of the dyed-in-the-wool hereditarians. The home is a potent synthesizer and weaver of character ends, when its atmosphere is fraught with affection, the spirit of cooperation, and a balanced mutual solicitude. The highest purpose of the home centers about children from birth to emancipation in the adolescent period. Many children are the unhappy victims of deficient home care and discipline long before society is forced to take notice of them because of delinquency, crime, dependency or physical or mental diseases.

What do some of the children think about their homes? Two charred bodies no longer think, but what did they think while they fought for life, locked in as usual for the day while their industrious mother cleaned house for others? They are physically dead, but others are spiritually dying.

Mary is only twelve, but she is large, keen, determined

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and affectionate. She disapproves of the work that sends her mother home with tired feet and weary mind. She wants to influence her mother to give up this outside occupation so she creates a nightly scene and berates and criticizes her severely. She will not help in the housework and only under paternal compulsion will she wash the dishes. Mary is disobedient but she thinks and she acts in accordance with her thoughts. "I hate my mother to work and she doesn't have to work. If I make the housework easy for her I encourage her to go on working." Needless to say, the child is growing up to hate household occupations and her mother is saddened at Mary's lack of cooperation and respect.

Perhaps Mary is not very different from tall, athletic Fred, who rebelled against all authority during early adolescence. He never came when called, remained out late, smoked and tried to be a sport. His mother worked only at shopping, social teas, bridge, Mah Jong, and the like, but she worked long hours and daily. Her children ate cold left-overs for lunch and often had to cook their own evening meals. Fred rarely saw his industrious father whose necessary absence he did not resent. But his mother? "She ought to be home. That's no way to treat kids." He had gone on strike only after a parental lockout.

"My mother works and she comes home too tired to be interested in me. I don't see her more than two hours a day. She hates housework and so do I. Why does she expect me to do it? I want to go out to work." For this compelling reason, vigorous, friendly, affection-craving Alma is working hardest at failing in school. Her parents want her education to continue through high school but it is unlikely that their wish will be realized. This high school girl is able to be of assistance in the home but the home does not exist for her. She desires to be free to earn, in order to escape household duties. Has she *home* duties? Alma is willing to debate the question.

THE legitimate desire for attention and personal care creates many difficulties when its complete satisfaction is denied. Frequently children resent being parked with nurseries, older sisters, or friends. Their conduct finds an outlet for their emotional distress. There may be something worthy of thought in the fact that Dr. Healy found that 17 per cent of the delinquents studied came from homes whose mothers were employed outside.

Merry, rosy-cheeked Bertha found an easy way out when she began to make life miserable all day for her older sister who was *in loco parentis*. The mother, in her nightly hours at home, could not cope with the problems of the day. The situation was complicated by the chronic illness of the father while the mother earned the daily bread. Bertha did not object to her mother's absence, or her wage-earning, but she resented the dictatorship of the older sister. Bertha wanted to be herself and to have more respect shown her, as well as to enjoy a larger measure of maternal society.

She secured attention by fighting, weeping, noisy remonstrances and refusal to comply with the demands or directions of other members of the family. The home was not otherwise an unhappy place but she was wretched because of her position in it.

Delia was over-developed mentally and physically. Her home was not only poor: there was a suspicion of squalor and definite evidence of martial incompatibility. She was ashamed of her own father, and she feared to ask her mother for the trifles that gladden the emotional lives of adolescent girls. Her mother worked while her father drank. But Delia had initiative, independence and courage. Asking the advice of no one, she found a job after school hours and earned sufficient to satisfy her simple, normal desires. She sought to forget her home at the movies, in adventures, and in dreams of castles with multitudes of servants and affectionate suitors. But she also told lies and committed thefts to offset her humiliation and shame. All her reactions could not be attributed to a "working home" but the lack of normal maternal guidance and her premature escape from home control was due in part to that fact.

"She can't make me do what I don't want to," came from the lips of eight-year-old Tom, and his flashing eyes signaled that he meant it. His mother, a widow, called him and prepared breakfast for him but her work took her from home before school time. All day he was at school save for the few minutes at home for a noon lunch left on the kitchen table. After school he played and roamed at will. She came back from work at six-thirty and again took up the duties of housekeeper, cook, seamstress and mother. Her opportunities for child-training were limited. Her fatigue, irritability and short temper made discipline uncertain. Her pattern of action was a liability. The boy's advances were repulsed and he stormed and kicked and swore. Finally he ran away, after a period of staying out at night till ten or eleven o'clock. There was no paternal influence to check him; he was the man of the house and he exercised his prerogatives. His mother's work absorbed her and supported, but almost lost him.

MADGE was the unhappy tempestuous victim of too much mothering. Save for the hours at school she was the object of loving solicitude from morning until night. Her comings and goings were ceremonials of maternal affection. Her meals, her clothes, her play, her friends, were supervised, dictated or criticized with decisiveness. Her life was a series of "do's" and "dont's." Madge's mother was a well-intentioned ruler whose despotism was not accepted as benevolent by her daughter. "If Mother only had something to occupy her I could get some peace." "I am miserable and I hate the thought of going home from school." Friction, insubordination, weepiness and a tendency to avoid her mother created an acute and unpleasant situation. Maternal love had over-played its part. The mother was advised to find a congenial outside occupation and the elements in the home were promptly shifted. The over-solicitude gradually disappeared and the freedom from too much mothering saved the day for both mother and daughter.

HELEN was quiet and docile. She felt that life was serious for her. Her fond mother had carefully arranged Helen's life to her own satisfaction. Helen lacked forcefulness, initiative and independence. She accepted domination without a struggle and gave little thought to her own problems. "Mother never lets me do anything I really want to do. I don't even pick my own friends, but I don't mind it so much because Mother probably knows what is right." Helen was obedient, pathologically obedient, and too dependent. Her mother had (*Continued on page* 335)

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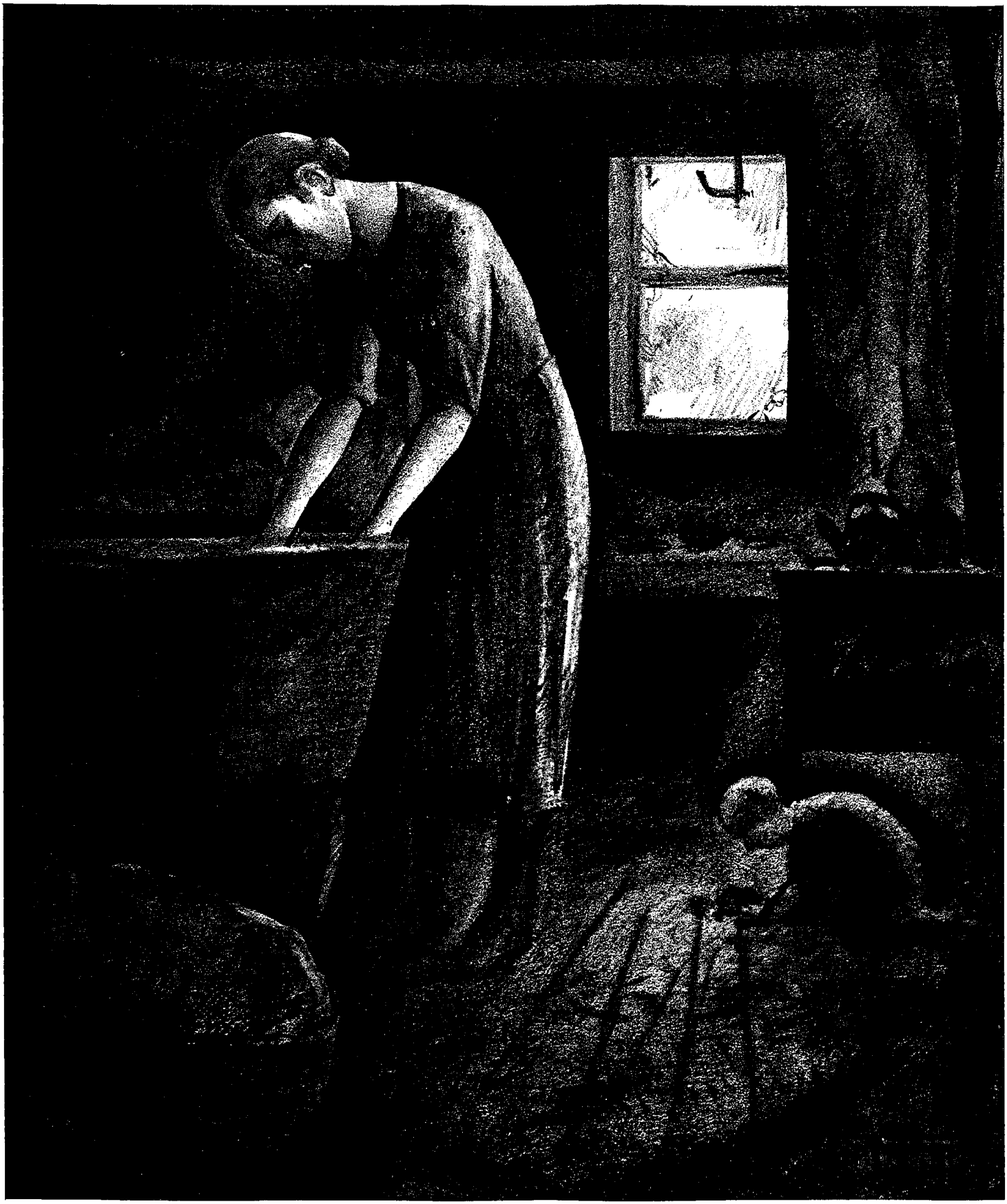

Drawing by William Siegel

WORKING WIVES — A VICTORIAN VIEW

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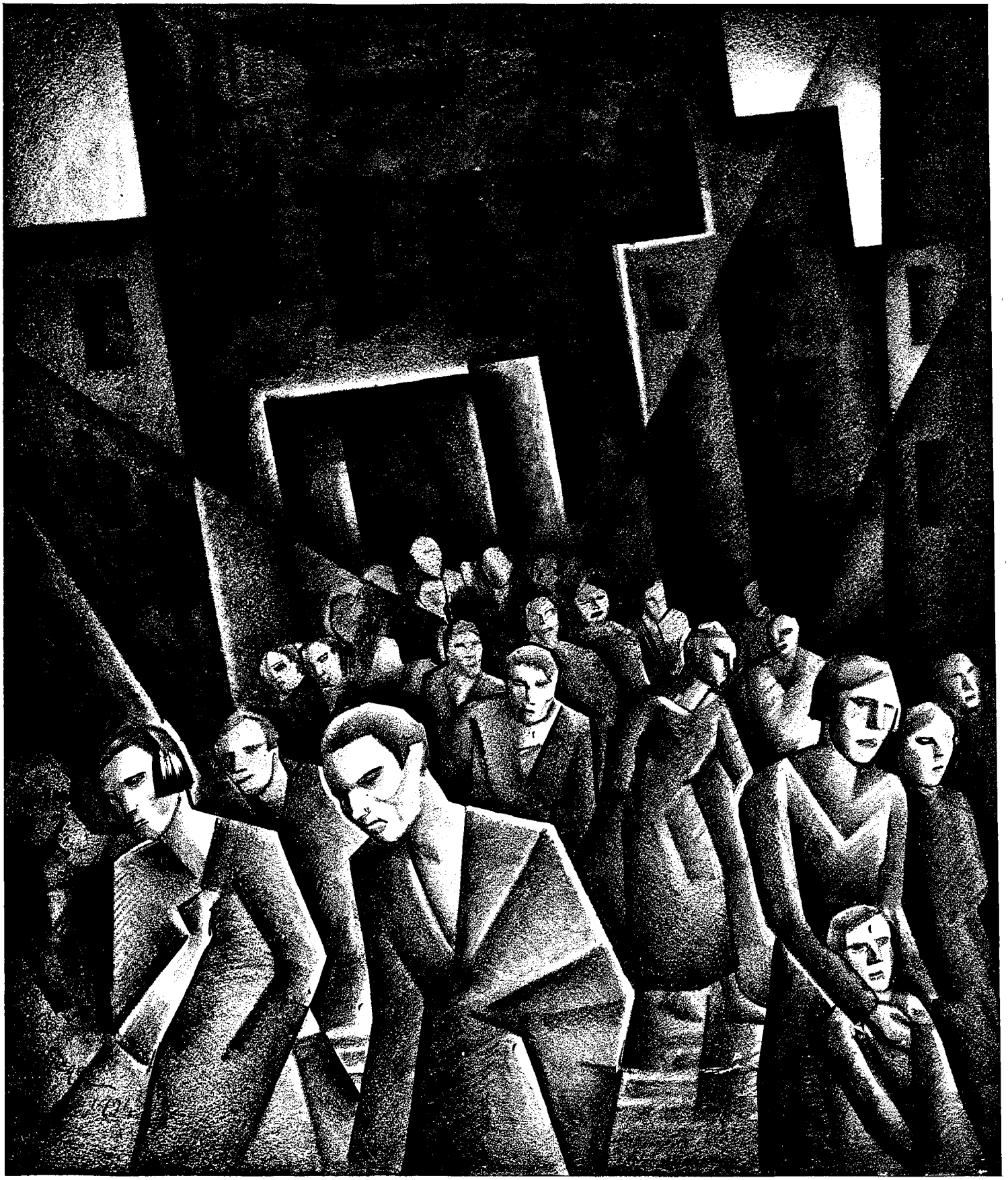

Drawing by William Siegel

—A MODERNIST VIEW

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The New Profession of Homemaking

By CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

If we should arrive at a time when machines or commercial services provided everything used in our houses, delivered the food ready for the table, cleaned our windows, and brushed our rugs, there still would be scope for the homemaker. Her place does not vanish when the baking, the laundry and the sewing leave the home. There is more than these physical activities to homemaking.

THE woman is now the director of family consumption as formerly she was the director of family production. The activities carried on in the home have changed but the social and psychological elements of family life are still there. The family remains the only place in which children can be successfully reared. True, some families are doing a poor job but all we can do in such cases is, first to try to teach them to do a better job and then, if that fails, find a substitute family in which to place the children.

Of course, on economic grounds alone the individual family home can hardly be justified. If we were to live on a strict cost accounting basis we would take to institutional life with its advantages of large-scale methods and resulting economies. But the cost accounting basis is not enough. Until some substitute is offered and proven the family must remain and with it will remain the functions of the homemaker.

Now this is not saying that every woman should follow homemaking as her special occupation. There is room for as clear a distinction between the professional homemaker and the woman, with or without an outside occupation, who is looking after her own house and family as there is between the child specialist and the layman who follows the findings of that specialist.

TODAY the homemaker is a luxury which not all families can afford. Women are in industry and the professions largely because of economic pressure. But what of those who are economically more fortunate; who are situated geographically where their work in the home is still of greater value than would be the work they could find outside; or those for whom there is no alternative to homemaking as a woman's occupation? Can these women claim economic and social justification and recognition for their work?

In the cities there is a group of women whose husbands have incomes large enough to meet the needs of the family without economic effort on the part of their wives. These women might devote themselves to homemaking, a profession which not as yet and perhaps not for many years in the future can be pursued as a means of livelihood. Then there are the women in the smaller towns, where agencies providing for the needs of the family have not been developed to any great extent. These women still have much of the actual work of production to carry on in their homes and the economic value of this work is greater than that which they could produce in outside employment. But they are not under pressure. With the adoption of scientific methods they have or could have leisure for special interests. The women on the farms have no choice as to occupation, though it would seem that with improved household methods and facilities and with the trend of the factories toward the open country there may be a great change in their situation in the near future.

These three groups of women are or could be devoting a large part of their energies to homemaking as a profession. Now by that is not meant simply staying at home, "doing the housework," and "devoting oneself to husband and children." The work of the homemaker is much greater in scope than that. It is a task of synthesis, of drawing upon all the natural and social sciences in an effort to solve the problems of the home.

Until women began to leave the home for other occupations the value of their homemaking activities was not realized. The present-day necessity of harmonizing the apparently conflicting interests of women who demand a family and a home along with an outside occupation should be the occasion for the improvement of the home and the recognition of the role and function of the homemaker. We hear eulogies on the family, on the sacredness of the home, the beauties of motherhood and so forth, but so little do we regard homemaking as a worth-while occupation, that the homemaker alumna back at reunion meeting the ever present, "What are you doing now?" feels obliged to answer in a more than half apologetic or defiant way, "Oh nothing. I am married and just at home, you know."

ODD as it sounds, it is true that the one occupation into which the world has tried to force all women is the one for which it takes the least trouble to train them. In spite of all our talk of vocational guidance we seem to be blind to the fact that the great majority of women still marry and that whatever else they may do they will have homes. Even in the women's colleges where the tendency is supposed to have been away from matrimony, marriage claims the majority. In Vassar, for example, 60 per cent of the graduates have married and the more recent classes show a tendency to increase the rate.

We send our girls to school and college and it is only by chance that they discover a course on the family which may discuss the social and psychological problems which they will meet in their own homes. Those who leave at the end of high school will rarely, if ever, find such courses. In the East the college girl is not likely to hear the practical problems of household management even mentioned.

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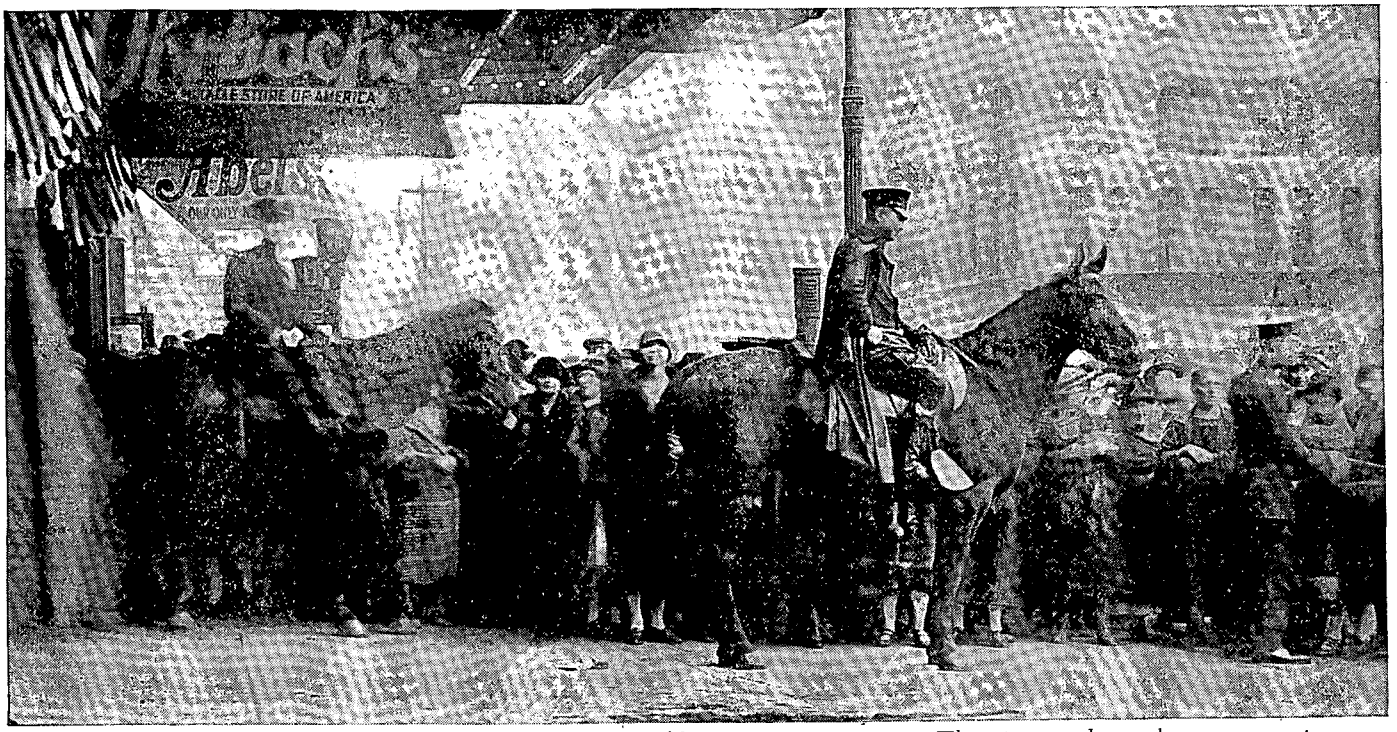

Shopping is one of the major and most zestful occupations of home-keeping women. The picture above shows an anniversary sale at Ohrbach's, Union Square, New York City. Before the store opened a line of women four abreast stretched around the entire block. Mounted traffic cops kept order at the entrance

The Homemaker's Job

1. She has the supervision and care of the house, a matter largely of technical activities and in many ways the simplest of her functions.

2. She does the family buying. Collectively the housewives of the nations are its greatest single body of buyers. They must recognize the social obligation this entails. As the directors of consumption they are the potential directors of the conditions of production.

3. She has the care of the children. Help can be obtained from the nursery schools and from the specialists, but in the long run it is the parents and, so public opinion insists, especially the mother who must take the final responsibility.

4. She is the coordinator of the interests of the individuals in the family, the conciliator or arbitrator of the conflicting claims of the family members.

5. It is she who has the task of formulating a philosophy of life for the family. There is no reason why she should be the partner to do this but tradition and, in the more well-to-do classes, greater leisure for the woman has given this task to her. It is she who has largely established the standards, ethical, cultural and moral, for the American family. This is the most important of her functions, for upon her philosophy of life depends the manner in which her other functions shall be performed.

6. She has the function, more neglected perhaps than the other five, of working out the relationship between the family and the community, of translating the family problems into terms of the community situation. This function calls for skill and ability to understand and to manipulate human relationships.

And in other sections of the country, where such courses are offered, girls preparing for one of the recognized professions other than that of home economics teaching are not likely to take them. Public opinion as to the value of homemaking is reflected in our schools. Deans and administrators have a tendency to cull out those who are failing in the "academic" subjects and to put them into home economics. (Not that they find life much easier there!) Home economics is a recognized department of our educational system in which some 40,000 teachers are employed and where excellent work is being done, yet those outside the department feel that in some intangable way it is an inferior, less respectable, less "scientific" subject than those remote from the home. Pioneers in the higher education of women had to prove that their students could face the same curriculum as men regardless of the fitness of that curriculum to meet the needs of living of either men or women. It was a matter of proving women's ability to meet a set test. In a world insisting that the only place for women was the home, it was natural, and perhaps necessary, for the leaders of the opposition to scorn the home and to prove that women were fitted for everything else. Today, women no longer need to imitate men educationally. The women's colleges and the women's departments can do pioneer work to suit their own ideas.

IF the colleges fear "vocational" education there need be no barring of training for homemaking on that score. Homemaking is not chiefly a matter of technique. The homemaker who is to be a professional needs a broad cultural training, attitudes and a sense of social values other than those commonly found today. She has to encourage thought along lines which have been considered unimportant, or unworthy of scientific treatment, or have been taken for granted. She has to force public opinion into a revaluation of the work of women in the home and this entails in some ways a revamping and reorganizing (*Continued on page* 336)

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Home and Office

By KATHARINE S. ANGELL

Drawings by Mary E. Carpenter

I CAN hardly remember a time in my childhood, absurd a child as I must sound to admit it, when my plans for myself "grown-up" did not include both marriage and a definite career. At twelve years old, after a dose of Greek history, I was to be an archaeologist, a few years later a doctor, but with the ending of school and college, this choice of occupation came to center more and more upon writing, a literary profession of some sort.

And now after eleven years of marriage I find myself, strangely enough, actually living to some degree the life I had visualized for myself fifteen or more years ago. I am married and have two children, five and nine years old. I lead a very full home life, and I hold an editorial position that is as exacting a full-time job as any I see about me.

I must admit, however, that this mode of life has come to be, not wholly because of my own choice but in part by trial and error and the luck of circumstances. I say luck, because it is hard for me to picture a happier, more rewarding existence than my own. To arrive at such a domestic and professional combination was not for me as much a matter of conscious arrangement as it might well be for a college woman now graduating and planning to enter both marriage and a career. Indeed, I married five years too early to have had my present way of life made easy. I had against me eleven years ago, even more than now, custom, tradition, and a professional prejudice against working mothers. Thus in eleven years of marriage, I have tried nearly every sort of possible combination of a home existence and work. Before I had children I did my own housework; I held part-time and full-time jobs. With one or two children I have successively devoted myself to them wholly, worked at offices on a part-time basis, have done writing and book reviewing at home. For periods I have lived the average life of occupied and more or less useful leisure that is followed by the wives of most professional men; and lastly comes the full-time editorial job—a way of life infinitely more satisfying than any I have yet known.

I imagine that I find all-day work more satisfying than part-time just because it requires that I make a complete psychological adjustment to the combination of home and job, whereas in the past I have found that I usually tried to add my part-time work as an "extra" to the average mother-housewife existence. Moreover, part-time work is unsatisfactory because, except in the most rare cases, no serious professional career can be achieved by it. There is, too, the tendency to give to the fractional job more hours than are required for a salary only too apt to be small. And in my experience, just because it demands a scattering of attention and effort, part-time work is more fatiguing and less rewarding than the longer working day.

Often I am asked why I work at all and I can give no one reason. They are countless. To begin with I have a strong personal conviction that although my lot is cast in the group of families where a woman's part in family support has come to mean next to nothing, I am not therefore to be let off my share of work. I have learned, too, that I am not a happy or agreeable citizen unless I am working, unless I am busy up to all my capacities, and my particular capacities do not happen to be domestic ones. Frankly, I do not do housework well, and I am easily tired and frazzled by the steady care or teaching of children (although intellectually there is nothing that interests me more than the psychology of bringing up and educating young children—a paradox, perhaps, but not an unusual one). Moreover, I have at least made honest attempts at the domestic life, having been for a while convinced that the-wife-and-mother-job, with home the center for an intelligent woman's activities, was the best method of working out this question of "the woman's place." (I still believe it may be a workable philosophy for some women although not for myself.)

To add to my "reasons," I have and always have had, a personal need for the opportunity to follow my own bent. One hesitates to use that much overworked and now somewhat ludicrous term "self-expression"—but if honest, I must admit to a distinct personal ambition that is thwarted and an underlying cause for unhappiness when I cannot do the work of mind, not hands, for which I am best fitted. Another and most important reason for a career is economic. While I do not need to work—as some mothers must, to earn food and clothing—I can by my brains earn much more money than I can save by filling in at home to cut down expenses for service and the care of children. And I can by working add just those extras that make life for ourselves and our children more gracious, more full of the intellectual and emotional satisfactions that are difficult to achieve without independent income in a city like New York.

Most important of all, I work because I know I am a better wife and mother if I do. I personally have more to give to my children and my home, and I fondly hope that I shall continue to be to my children an individual who interests them as a

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Have you ever asked any little girls what they are going to "do" or "be" when they grow up? There's not a one of them who does not plan to marry and have children, but a goodly number nowadays also have quite definite schemes of pursuing their own bent as well, whether it be painting pictures, teaching school or walking tight ropes. Such dual feminine ambitions are, I am convinced, quite generally common and far more normal than we have allowed ourselves to believe. Is it after all psychologically or biologically impossible to satisfy them both?

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person quite apart from being that important but much-taken-for-granted figure, "Mother."

To be a working mother is not easy even for a professional woman. Aside from the fatigue there are countless pulls against it, the overwhelming one being the eternal questioning: Am I seeing enough of my children? Am I giving them enough of my time? Am I always there when they need me? However much one is convinced in principle, there is the constant tug the other way, too, of tradition, inheritance, and custom which manifests itself in one's approach to life and in what other people think of you (a factor even for a woman of the most ardent convictions).

The actual regulation of life for a married woman with a job, the division of the day into hours for work, for running the house, for amusement and rest, and for time to spend with the children, is a complicated business requiring considerable constructive thought and executive sense. And for most women, very much so for me, there is the problem of health, of how to achieve so busy a life without becoming overtired or ill, or so submerged that existence loses its finest qualities. For myself, and for most women, I am sure, there must be times of failure, of over-emphasis on one point or another, of a scattering of effort and lack of balance all around.

In detail I work out my days somewhat in this manner. We live in a house in the city in winter, and in a cottage within commuting distance in summer. Both of my children are now in school. I, fortunately, do not have to be at my office very early and have time in winter to see the children off to school, to plan the day for them and for the household. The school hours of my older child are from nine to three; lunch at school is required, and outdoor school activities consume most of the afternoons. My office is near enough for me to lunch at home with my younger child occasionally and his afternoons are spent in the park.

At five o'clock both children are home again and I can be there soon after, for two hours of concentrated companionship. It is then that we tell each other the adventures of the day, have tea together and read aloud or play games. My office work, too, is of the sort that can be done in part at home. and I can take a morning off to visit school or an afternoon for some important expedition with the children and make up the time on my job during the evening. Saturdays and Sundays are the children's to a large degree. As many of the months of the year as possible we have them in the country.

In summer, because of the time I must spend on the train, I leave home earlier and get home later than in winter, but theoretically I am supposed to be able to work two or three days at home into which I can sandwich some good hours with the children. I say theoretically, because I have just finished two summer months of comparative failure in my system, months when through unusual cirumstances, I have had to be more regularly at my desk than I like, with too few days for work at home. But this has been an emergency and as such, one that can be met and prepared against another time.

Neither of us finds that working side by side is any less companionable than reading our separate novels

As I write it is vacation time, a vacation spent with my husband and daughter, in a canoe trip in the north woods. Unlike many mothers, vacation to me now means not the time to get away from the children, but the moment to have a wholly concentrated family life. And I'll warrant that we three have put more companionship and mutual understanding into these two weeks of camping together than many families whose mothers live in and only for their children, put into twice as many months, when for them companionship seems an average state of affairs and not one to be seized and enjoyed to the utmost.

Of course, with a mother away from home, the question of the physical and intellectual care of the children is all important. I feel strongly that they must not be left to unintelligent servants, and I should be sorry ever to turn my children over whole-handedly to a governess or mother's helper. With the children in a modern all-day school, the woman who can watch over their health and physical requirements and who can help them get about the city from one activity to another, is the person to be sought. In summer I believe that a girl who can swim, play tennis and pursue the various activities of a summer life, intellectual and physical, is the best assistant for a professional mother. But as the needs of growing children change, the personnel of a household must be adjusted and no one plan can be designated as best.

It is interesting to see where the father of such a family must make his adjustments to meet the problem of a working wife. In our family we divide considerably the responsibilities of the household. While I regulate the domestic end, my husband has time and I believe enjoys being responsible for the garden in the summer, the repairs to the city house, and in mutual matters we share and share alike, taking turns at paying bills, keeping the check books, making arrangements for moving, travel and so on. And, most important of all, he takes an equal responsibility in regard to the children, visiting their schools as I do, going on expeditions with them on Saturdays and Sundays, and he has even been known to invade on the sacred duties of the mother to the point of taking a child to a dentist or a doctor, although he is still to come to the point of purchasing their clothes!

And where does a wife who works fail her husband?

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Certainly she has not enough time free to perform small personal services for him. She must entrust to a mere servant this matter of holes in the socks (and such a husband has to put up with the annoyance of finding a button neglected occasionally). With us, on the evenings we do not go out to dinner or have guests, I often must work on manuscripts in order to have the free daytime hours I have described as stolen from the office for the children. But my husband also often brings work home and neither of us finds that working side by side is any less companionable than reading our separate novels, or even than playing bridge together.

OF course, for the husband of a wife with a gainful occupation there are the pulls of custom, the habits of his class, to overcome. He must of necessity compare himself to the man who has a woman to back him up, to hold up his hands at every turn; to the man whose wife is free to grease every wheel and organize his life so that he has the greatest possible number of hours free from domestic care of any sort in which to devote himself to the achievement of a successful career. It may be that famous careers are often so made, but they are more apt to be careers than lives. Such a man, we think in our family, does not necessarily have the largest or most rewarding life. To a certain group of people it might seem, too, that a professional woman would fail in her social duty to her family by not being free to pursue the daytime social activities that are supposed to lead to contacts valuable from the angle of business or delightful from the angle of friendship and happiness. I do not agree to this premise because children whose parents are active and occupied will have all the friends and "contacts" they need in life.

In the psychology of all marriages the subtle balance of values and emphasis is of the utmost importance and women, who plunge emotionally so deeply into all their activities, open themselves to the danger of being too much wedded to their work. A certain masculine detachment is a virtue much to be sought. Tied up with this weighing of values, is also the question of earnings. I cannot myself understand the feminine point of view that assumes that money earned by a wife is hers exclusively. The acceptance of economic equality, to my mind, requires that a husband's and wife's earnings be pooled for the good of the family. Those ladies who work and pride themselves on being modern but assume that the responsibility for the expenses of home and children are entirely the husband's, and keep their own pay cheques to spend on their wardrobes or on whatever extras for the home they elect to buy, belong, to my mind, quite definitely to the era of wife with a *dot*.

From the point of view of the children, where does a mother with a job fail? I have just talked it over with my daughter.

"Would you like it better if I didn't have a job?" I asked her.

After due consideration of all the pros and cons her verdict is: "No. With a job in winter you're home all the time that I am anyway, and in summer if you were home more during the week you and Father might go away more at the week-ends and that's when we have the most fun. And besides, it's fun to have you talk about the office. Of course," and here she tries to be very tactful, not knowing what answer I'd like her to make and not wishing to hurt my feelings, "Of course, I don't mean I wouldn't like you to be home all the time. But I like it best this way."

AFTER all, the real test of whether or not one is failing one's children is the degree of intimacy between parent and child. If the children are an integral part of the household, if they are companions and intimates, if the mother is entirely sensitive to their moods and changing needs, she need have no serious fear that she is neglecting them.

Of course, there is the other face to the coin. How does a mother succeed on the job? Just where do her duties to her home interfere with her work? This is not for me to discuss here, much as I could say, but I may perhaps add that the chief interference I have encountered has been the psychological fear of my employers, who have sometimes trembled at their own temerity in hiring a married woman.

It is vacation time, a vacation spent with my husband and daughter, in a canoe trip to the north woods—vacation to me now means not the time to get away from the children, but the moment to have a wholly concentrated family life

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Photograph by Margaret deM. Brown, Vassar Institute of Euthenics

10.30 a.m.

While Mothers Are Working

WHILE mothers are working what happens to the children? A few of the more fortunate of them are spending their days in nursery schools. As Mrs. Barnard explains in the following article the nursery schools which are springing up in various cities and colleges are not to be considered as a device to help out the occupied mother but as constructive enterprises "for a better physical, mental and emotional development of the child than the unaided home can offer." They offer opportunities that few single homes can give—sunny space for play, and equipment especially adapted for childish needs and tastes; a schedule planned with sole reference to childish needs, a free and friendly atmosphere; and —what no family however large and rich can supply—daily association in work and play with a group of children of the same age, a training in initiative, self-control and teamwork.

Bureau of Educational Experiments

Snow on a city roof

The pictures on these pages show children at the Bureau of Educational Experiments in New York City; and at the nursery school maintained at Vassar College last summer by the Institute of Euthenics. The Bureau of Educational Experiments is one of the pioneer American ventures in the care and scientific study of very young children. The Vassar school is part of a program of parental education, whereby not only the children are the gainers, for they thus serve their own mothers as laboratory material for illustrating the tried and proven principles of child development.

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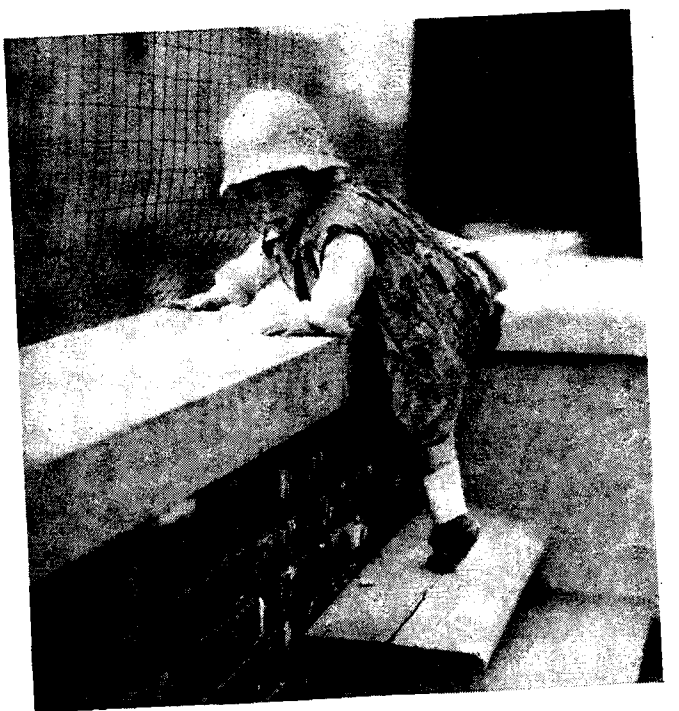
Photograph by Margaret deM. Brown, Vassar Institute of Euthenics

Opportunities for constructive enterprise



Bureau of Educational Experiments

Safe Adventure

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Photograph by Margaret deM. Brown, Vassar Institute of Euthenics

Mid-morning milk and crackers

Bureau of Educational Experiments

Too busy to look up

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The Child Takes a Nurse

By EUNICE FULLER BARNARD

"The future mother will not threaten to abandon the care of her baby for a job. She will not have to. The baby will have abandoned her. No educational sign of the times seems clearer. Quite irrespective of his mother's desire for domesticity or a career, tomorrow's toddler will be cared for outside the home for at least a part of the day."

IF the recent rise of the nursery school in England and the United States means anything, it means that the nurture of the young child, like spinning and canning and the teaching of the three R's a century ago, is ceasing to be solely a home industry. It is becoming a specialized occupation in a specializing world. It is the first glimmering of an educational revolution which may ultimately take most women out of the home, as the industrial revolution threw most workmen out of the crafts. For though the nursery school, by taking the child at the age of two, adds only four years to his education outside the home, they are four crucial years, the years in which the conscientious mother previously has found no adequate substitute for her personal care.

But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that this liberation of the mother for other work is only an incidental effect of the nursery school and not its cause. The nursery school did not originate like the day nursery to meet the need of mothers forced into industry or of those who wished to continue professional careers. Everywhere it has been a spontaneous, constructive enterprise for a better physical, mental and emotional development of the child than the unaided home can foster. It has regarded itself as a necessary adjunct to mother care, rather than a substitute for it.

Indeed, by the English pioneers the nursery school is looked upon as the chief hope of salvaging childhood, as the only fundamental program of social rehabilitation. For in England the nursery school movement is not on the relatively new and desultory basis of that in the United States. It has been the subject of experiment for more than twenty years, and it has been a part of the national education system since 1918. Then, under the Fisher Act, Parliament authorized the nursery school for children between the ages of two and five, "to lay the foundations of health, habit, and responsive personality."

It is interesting that from the beginning this was recognized in England as a function of the Board of Education rather than of the Ministry of Health. It seems to have been natural there, as it is not yet here, to think of education in terms of developmental hygiene, "where," as the Board of Education regulations phrase it, "questions of physical and mental well being are indissolubly connected."

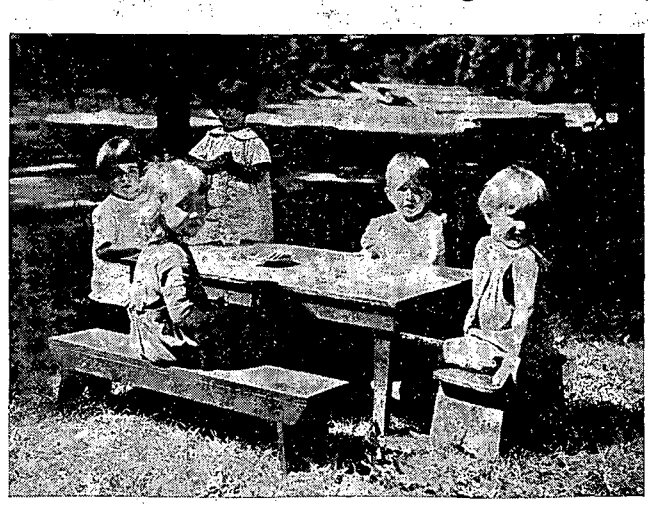
Especially does this seem remarkable since the nursery school was in its inception a first offensive against the London slums, where from 80 to 90 per cent of all children are rickety by the age of two. The defensive had obviously failed. Child clinics, though they are now multiplied in London by the hundreds, effect no permanent cure. "The children," writes Margaret McMillan, leader of the English nursery school movement, "are in and out continually. No mere 'treatment' can battle long against dirt and neglect, ignorance and poverty. We saw no results that could be called radical until we opened the first large open-air school."

In the experiments of the McMillan sisters and of Grace Owen through patient years was worked out the technic of the English nursery school, now crystallized in the rulings of the Board of Education. At first these schools were small, for not more than forty children. Today Miss McMillan is experimenting with a large school of three hundred, but the regimen is much the same.

Unlike the American day nursery which regards its group care as an essential evil only to be tolerated *in extremis,* the English nursery school does not ask as a basis of admission whether a child's father is alive or whether his mother is or need be employed outside the home. It throws open its doors symbolically toward the two million London children suffering from crowded city life.

First of all the nursery school brings them out into the sunshine. It gives them sunny rooms, sunny playgrounds, and if possible, grass and trees. The all-day schedule includes hot meals and afternoon naps. There is careful training in good physical habits and daily health inspection, with records kept by a school nurse or the teacher herself, whose two-year preparation includes courses in child hygiene and three months in a children's hospital.

Conditions for mental and social development are no less carefully planned. Large building blocks, clay, beads, scissors, hammer and nails, blackboards and chalk, small brooms, spades and rakes, the



Photograph by Margaret deM. Brown, Vassar Institute of Euthenics

A society of their peers

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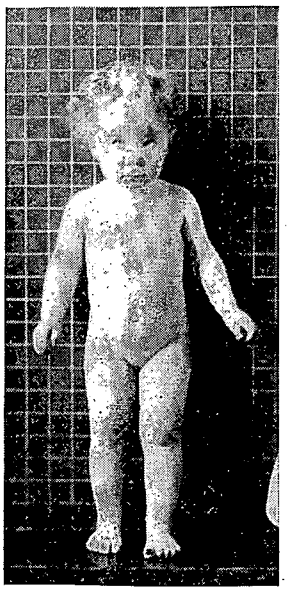
sand-pile, and wagons to fill and empty—all these are tools at the baby's free disposal, so many invitations to constructive enterprise. "He is not instructed nor directed except when at a loss, destructive, or quite aimless. The function of the staff is to be quiet, watchful and ever-ready." Music, rhythmic dancing, stories, pictures, and games provide fruitful new experiences. Not the least potent factor in emotional adjustment is the group itself, the community of the child's developmental peers.



Bureau of Educational Experiments

Scientific records of growth

But all this in a school of thirty or forty is expensive, costing from £25 to £30 a year per child. In spite of the government subsidy of £25,000, after a year or two the London County Council took fright and opened no new schools beyond those already started. It was then that Miss McMillan took up the challenge and started her demonstration of the large open-air school. Instead of expensive buildings she put up in a great garden, shelters with movable walls, open to the south, each capable of accommodating thirty-five children. Six to ten of these shelters in a group she has found is not too many for one principal to manage. With three meals a day still given the children, the numbers have made it possible to cut the total cost to less than half—to £12 per year per child. The Board of Education saw and revised its regulations.

"The fact," says Miss McMillan, "that we can take two or three hundred children into an open-air school without risk of infection, without risk of overcrowding, without risk of mass treatment for all, has disposed forever, one hopes, of the bogies that frightened the authorities when the work began. It makes possible the transforming of all infant schools into nursery schools. . . . At least three thousand open-air nursery schools are wanted badly in England. Ten thousand are needed. If we had twenty thousand, we should have no more neglected children on this island, and the heavy shadow of child wastage would fade like new dews in the breath of the morning. Given these schools, our public life would be set in a new key."

But the English movement had not been long in existence when it began to be seen that this new gospel of childhood had something to offer not to slum children alone, but to city children everywhere, even to the well-to-do. For here were developmental elements that few single homes could give—play space and equipment perfectly adapted to childish needs, a schedule organized with sole reference to childish welfare, a friendly but more or less impersonal atmosphere, and one thing that no family, however large or rich, can supply—daily association in work and play with a group of children of the same age and stage of development. In case after case mothers who began with a philanthropic interest in the nursery school have come to desire its benefits for their own children.

So it comes, perhaps, that the nursery school in the United States has little philanthropic connotation, but is thought of as an educational method applicable to all young children. On the other hand, the relatively new movement here has none of the hearty, integrated self-confident character of the English one. It has no direct governmental backing, federal or local, and no coherence of management or spirit. Instead, from coast to coast, in town and metropolis, as if by spontaneous germination, small diverse nursery schools have suddenly sprouted independently into life; in Brooklyn, for instance, and Iowa, in Detroit, Boston and California. Indeed, according to a perturbed professor of home economics in Kansas, there are now more than a hundred such schools where three years ago there were barely a dozen.

Among these the only coordinating forces are the surveys of the federal Bureau of Education, and a conference held in Washington last February looking toward the formation of a nursery school association. Otherwise the schools survive in their promiscuity. Not even the physical connotations of the term "nursery school" are standardized. Some schools take babies from fifteen months to three years, while others have only children of three and four, and still others have a generous range from two to six. Some have only a morning session; others keep the children all day and provide regular meals and napping facilities. One school at least, of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, keeps special children over night for short periods. And these differences are but symbolic of the more fundamental variations of curriculum, equipment and purpose.

Bureau of Educational Experiments

On the sunny roof

Yet amid this welter of small schools certain distinctive characteristics of the American movement do emerge. One of these is its scientific and pedagogic temper. Instead of being part of a social crusade, the nursery school here is more often a laboratory, either a research station to investigate children's growth and behavior or a demonstration center for parental or pre-parental education. Indeed, many of our nursery schools are wards of the colleges and serve the students as laboratories for both research and demonstration.

Look at them throughout the country, at Yale, Vassar, Smith, the University of Chicago, of Michigan, of Minnesota, and others of the land grant colleges. Teachers College conducts two and the University of Iowa four separate nursery classes. Indeed, from an absolute ignoring of parenthood, the American colleges have suddenly become, directly or indirectly, hives of parental instruction. Soon

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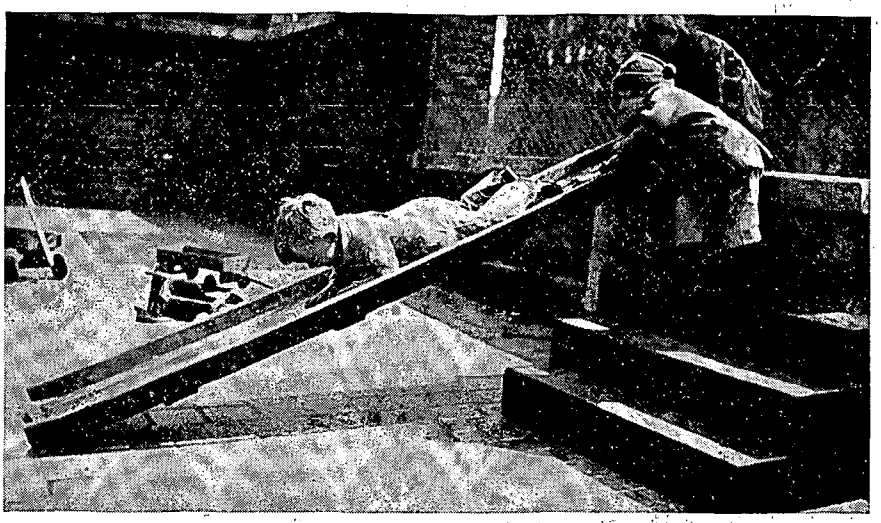


Bureau of Educational Experiments

Space and equipment for childish needs

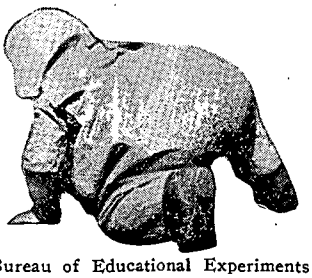
no respectable college will be without its nursery school any more than without its physics laboratory. One by one in the last five years the colleges have opened their doors to two-year-olds, made their experiments, and vied with each other in broadcasting their findings through the books of their professors to the waiting parents outside. And baby's gurgles and Johny's tantrums have become not matter for petting or spanking, but subjects for Ph. D. theses. Yet among the colleges there is as great variety of emphasis as of clientele. Some have started nursery schools in existing day nurseries; others have opened new schools for the children of the graduate students themselves.

Take Yale, Vassar and Smith for instance. At Yale the nursery school in a New Haven day nursery is almost wholly a scientific laboratory used in the working out of norms of development in children from two to five. Vassar, on the other hand, has been a pioneer in parental and preparental education. Last summer it invited college-bred women to come to its course in euthenics and bring their young children to enter the all-day nursery school. The children thus served their own mothers as laboratory material not for working out new principles but for illustrating proved ones.

Smith College's nursery school has almost the opposite intent. Instead of teaching mothers new methods of child care, it demonstrates a method of partially freeing themselves from such care. It is somewhat paradoxical that this seemingly most radical experiment should be at Smith. For it is a tenet of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests which is conducting it, that the mother's main occupation must always be the nurture of her children, and that she cannot without loss to them take a full-time job outside the home. On the other hand, the institute wishes to develop instrumentalities such as the nursery school so that she may be freed a few hours each day to carry on some individual work, professional or otherwise.

Still another service the nursery school renders in the land-grant colleges of the West, where in the departments of home economics, child care is at last being recognized beside food, clothing, and shelter as part of the home-maker's responsibility. The famous Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit, for instance, serves the home-economics students at the Michigan Agricultural College as training center at once in child health, nutrition, and psychology.

This school, along with those conducted by Teachers' College, is one of several (both inside and outside the colleges) started here in 1922 after the English model. But the only American group which has definite correlation, and which, by the way, was first in the field, is that based on the teachings of Dr. Montessori, and conducted under the general supervision of the Child Education Foundation of New York City. Eleven all-day nursery schools in the city alone are under its direction, and it claims the establishment of the first in the country at a New York settlement house in 1916. Indeed, much of the work that has been done in converting day nurseries into nursery schools has been directed by the Foundation.



Bureau of Educational Experiments

Physically the program of its all-day schools is much like that of the English, though it takes its pupils even earlier, at the age of eighteen months. Its greatest difference consists in its emphasis on work-periods as well as play periods, its use of the Montessori material, and the greater responsibility it places on its babies for the order of the school room.

But the one school whose main object has been the working out of an original nursery school procedure is the independent school of the Bureau of Educational Experiments in New York City. Many points which the English and Montessori methods have taken on faith, it has put to scientific test, with some difference of conclusion. Notably it differs from the English in its segregation of age groups.

Still more indicative of the strength of the movement perhaps are the cooperative schools set up by groups of young mothers here and there throughout the country, and the nursery school departments they are inducing private schools to open. Already, too, there is a faint knocking on the doors of the public school. Last year a group of child-welfare workers and educators met to try to devise some plan by which nursery schools could be introduced into the New York system. Dr. Arnold Gesell of Yale is spokesman for another group which is calling for a "fearless, fundamental readjustment and extension of the American kindergarten, to include younger children and many nursery school functions."

Expense may long prevent this consummation, especially since our generally severer climate would preclude except in the South and West, the large open-air shelters adopted in England by Miss McMillan. Meanwhile the need grows more obvious with the growth of cities and the immense increase in our knowledge of child development. Doubtless the economic pressure on mothers and their desire, as shown at Smith, for continuing other interests will have its influence too. But with or without mothers' connivance, the nursery school in America, a constructive educational venture, is on its way.

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Horizon Lines

A Monthly Survey of Our New International Frontiers

By JAMES G. McDONALD

ARE the walls of Jericho trembling? The "appeal for the removal of restrictions upon European trade," signed by 165 leading industrials and bankers of fifteen different countries including the United States and published October 19, was a trumpet call which resounded throughout the world. The prompt and vigorous protestations from the guardians of the high tariff citadels showed their alarm. Here were not idealists and dreamers, but hard-headed, practical and successful business men preaching dangerously heretical doctrines: "Freedom from tariff barriers, special licenses and prohibitions have never been more needed. . . . There can be no recovery in Europe until politicians in all territories, old and new, realize that trade is not war, but a process of exchange; that in times of peace our neighbors are our customers and that their prosperity is a condition of our own well-being."

What is the source of this plain speaking? Rumor credits its initiation to Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, and Dr. Schacht, president of the German Reichsbank. If this be true, it is an interesting example of the degree to which war-time alignments have broken down. However, the International Chamber of Commerce and the Economic Section of the League of Nations have both frequently pointed the same moral.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and his associates in the Pan-European movement have been urging much more radical measures, but Europe is not yet ready for a free trade union, not to speak of a United States of Europe. None the less, the bankers' appeal strengthens the forces at work already gradually breaking down the worst of the economic dislocations caused by the war. Their pronouncement gives added importance to the next general step, the International Economic Conference, which is expected to meet in Geneva next year.

President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon were both quick to point out that the statement made no reference to the United States and was not intended to apply to our tariff. And technically, they are right. These men of affairs who signed the manifesto must have known that there is no prospect now or in the near future of any thoroughgoing reduction of the American high schedules. Moreover, many free trade enthusiasts forget that interested though our international bankers are to enable our commercial creditors abroad to repay their loans, these same bankers are interested more largely in American industries. Hence, it is easy to exaggerate the cleavage between banking and industrial opinion in this country on the tariff.

Senator Borah saw in the manifesto only a logical development of the plan of "those who have large and constantly increasing investments abroad" to sacrifice "our foreign policy, our industries and our money" to a scheme of readjusted relationships with the world. What an example of muddied thinking! And what has become of the senator who used to say: "Let Europe set her house in order and we shall be more than generous"? To rail against one of the most significant of recent European tendencies towards real peace would be ungracious in any American. It is unstatesmanlike and worse in the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

With Belgium's complete success late in October in stabilizing her franc at thirty-six to the dollar and in finding ample funds to guarantee that value, she has moved sharply ahead of France and pointed the hard way which her larger neighbor must sooner or later follow. A new exchange unit, the *belga,* equal to 5 francs, has been created for foreign exchange purposes. Belgium's problem was not easy. The budget had to be balanced, the state railways handed over to a commercial company, the floating debt consolidated, the debt of the state to the national bank redeemed and that institution put in position to function efficiently as a central bank. These were only the more important of the difficult steps which had to be taken before the foreign credits necessary to success were available. Such radical measures would have been impossible had party politics been permitted to play their disruptive rôle. This was avoided by concentrating full powers in the hands of the King. It is absurd to say that this meant that Belgium had set up a dictatorship. Quite the contrary. Because of the urgency of the crisis and because of the universal confidence in the King, the Belgian Parliament voluntarily agreed to invest him with extraordinary powers. Now that he has done his work, presumably full parliamentary freedom of discussion and action will be resumed.

After the Bargain at Thoiry

IN middle Europe, conciliation continues to be the dominant note. The failure of Poincaré and Stresemann to carry through the major proposals made at Thoiry—the sale abroad of a portion of the German railway reparation bonds, the proceeds to be made available to the allies 52 per cent in return for concessions from the latter to the Reich in the Rhineland and the Saar Valley—has not led to recriminations between Paris and Berlin. Instead, both capitals have intimated that except for the opposition of the United States this program would have been carried through. This is probably much more an excuse than the real reason, yet it has been accepted as valid by a surprising number of editors in this country. Certainly the Administration continues to insist that no large loans intended directly or indirectly for France shall be floated until the French debt settlement has been ratified. But this aside, there are substantial grounds for the belief that neither France nor Germany is really prepared to make the Thoiry bargain effective. It is significant, (*Continued on page* 345)

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EDITORIALS

SHE was registering in the neighborhood polling place, where her peculiarities were well-known. Three clerks took down her name, age, address under the watchful eye of Shorty, the ward boss. But at the column headed "occupation" they scrawled busily on, without waiting to question. "What are you writing there?" she asked, looking over the shoulder of one of the clerks. "Why, I'm not a 'housewife', I'm a—" "Say, missus, we put all the married women down as housewife," Shorty broke in. And so it had to stand.

Somewhat the same dull ambiguity clouds the enumerations of women in the Census, from which most of the material for this issue on Woman's Place has been drawn. Only women with present husbands are counted as married; the widowed, divorced, deserted, with often as great or a greater burden of family support, are included with the single. Women doing housework in their own homes are not "gainful workers" even though the housework be done for a boarder or lodger, unless the income from it forms the greater part of their income, in which case they may be listed as a boarding-house keeper or a lodging-house keeper. The General Federation of Women's Clubs has included as a major point in its program the demand that the 1930 Census include homemaking as an occupation, thus recognizing its importance in the economic and social life of the nation, and list the equipment of the home as it lists the equipment of farm or factory.

A study of the 1920 Census data on married women in Rochester, N. Y., made by Bertha M. Nienburg and published by the Bureau of the Census (The Woman Homemaker in the City) shows how far such an analysis would amplify our knowledge of the economic position of women in cities. Rochester was chosen as a fairly typical urban community, by reason of its industries, racial composition and the like. For the country at large, 9 married women out of every hundred are listed as gainfully employed. But this Rochester study showed that here (and presumably this is not unlike the record of other American cities) 28 out of each hundred women who had been married were adding to the cash income of the family, 16 by keeping boarders or lodgers, and the others chiefly by office or factory work. Of the mothers of children under five, more than one in five was working for money either inside or outside her home; of the mothers of children between five and eighteen years of age, one in four. Even in the homes maintained by both parents, one mother in five was engaged in adding in some way to the money income of the family. The double burden of homemaking, including the care of children, and wage-earning becomes the more glaring when it is realized that even among the mothers of children under five who were working for money, only about one in ten had either a paid servant or an adult relative in the home to assist her.

Obviously no one formula will solve the perplexities of the generations which are bearing the brunt of so revolutionary a shift in social organization. To do more we must know more, and the additional Census data asked by the General Federation will help. New attitudes will be needed to face new facts. The articles of this issue attempt an interpretation of some of our present facts, philosophies, and plans.

"HOME and Mother," so long a favorite toast, is giving place to the query that will not down, How can Home be made safe for Mother?

Of the two deathrates that rise in spite of every effort hitherto made, one is the maternal deathrate, in its baffling character second only to cancer. It is curious to reflect that, through the generations when pulpit and press were warning Mother to find her place in her home, nobody recognized either the importance or the controllable nature of the lurking danger that awaited her there. Even Pasteur's teachings fell on deaf ears.

Characteristic of Mother's unconsidered place (except for purposes of rhetoric) is the circumstance that the general knowledge of her stationary or rising deathrate was incidental to the study of causes of deaths of infants before, during, and in the first month after birth. Not until the federal Children's Bureau added an enquiry into the causes of maternal deaths, as a pendant to its studies of infant mortality, did the vast rural areas of this country begin to see the largely preventable waste of mothers. The publication issued by the Bureau during the present year, entitled Maternal Mortality, appears to be the first study of its kind in the entire history of Mother and the Home.

It seems a far cry from the rickets of infancy to the deaths of mothers. It is, moreover, only recently that the means of certain prevention have been found for the too often fatal narrow pelvis, which follows in adolescence upon rachitic babyhood. Sunshine and cod liver oil, with an insistent public health nurse watching the baby girl and her parent, give the first promise that rickets as an element in the maternal deathrate will slowly vanish within the coming quarter century, as safeguarded baby girls of today come to face the experience of motherhood.

It is at this moment when little daughters, both rural and urban, are promised (through the joint exertions of the Yale Medical School and the nursing profession) a new

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guaranty for safety in their future homes, that Congress threatens to abolish by delay the Sheppard-Towner Act, Uncle Sam's increasingly successful effort to make motherhood safer than it has ever been, by cooperating with the states in teaching and applying all the tried and tested plans which we know will save the lives of both mothers and babies.

Will the appropriation to continue the Act be passed at the impending session? Or can it be that Mother, in defense of herself and her daughters, must take over Congress?

BEHIND one of the articles of our Harlem issue entitled The Negro Digs Up His Past, there lay nearly thirty years of indefatigable and far-sighted effort—the patient book, manuscript and print collecting of Arthur Schomburg, its author and the assembler of the rare collection of books by and pertaining to the Negro which documented that article. At that time the existence of such a treasure was known to only a few enthusiastic antiquarians. This month, partly as a result of its revealing introduction in the context of the Negro renascence, its three thousand items pass from a closely guarded private collection to a permanent public research library available to all students interested in the fascinating search and recovery of the Negro's past history. Through the enterprising suggestion of the National Urban League, the Carnegie Corporation appropriated ten thousand dollars for its purchase, a figure which makes it almost a part gift to posterity on the part of Mr. Schomburg. With the New York Public Library as its permanent custodian and the special reference room of the Harlem Library Branch as its present new home, the collection begins drawing dividends of public use and benefit.

Under these joint auspices it is to be formally dedicated as the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and Art, in fitting recognition of the race service of its collector. For all its present rarity and comprehensiveness as the most complete collection of Africana and Negro Americana extant, there is still greater significance and value in the formation of a permanent committee to supervise the further collecting of materials to supplement it. The foundation thus makes available for historical research an unique assemblage of data in the special field of the Negro in American history, and thereby significantly enriches the research facilities of New York. But more intimately still, Harlem, culture center of the new Negro, now holds close to its heart and hand one of its most precious spiritual possessions, as an inspiration for its youth and its future.

AMONG the citizens who plucked up courage at the outcome of the recent prohibition referenda may be set down, if still living, that practical small town naturalist of Pennsylvania who in the old days supplied saloon-keepers with snakes. He did not do this as a warning to inebriates; rather he furnished snakes in the same way that other dealers furnished monkeys and parrots and such like for the collections of pets and small menageries set up in backrooms. His business was cracked by wartime prohibition, and went to smash with the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

FROM The School and The Child, educators, psychiatrists, writers and social workers are turning their searchlights on Parents. Under this illumination, a good many of us cringe at the revelation of our inadequacies. More and more parents are made to realize that instinct and tradition are not sufficient equipment for their highly important job, and are seeking some access to the newest ideas in child care and education. Children, the Magazine for Parents, which appeared on the newsstands a few weeks ago, is to act as a link between parents and experts and to "serve as a medium for the interchange of experience between mothers and fathers." In the words of George J. Hecht, its founder, Children "will contain practical information on every parental problem presented by children from the crib through college." The first two numbers have contained articles, popular written and illustrated, on such diverse themes as tantrums, Christmas presents, colds, clothes and cod liver oil. To the "average" parent, for which it is obviously written, such a magazine should be invaluable in presenting the facts and theories of what babyhood, childhood and adolescence need and how these needs may be met.

In a kindred field is the current issue of Progressive Education, the quarterly journal of the Progressive Education Association (see The Survey, June 1, p. 326). This number, called Progressive Parents, considers the changing home and the part that home and parents should have in the upbringing of children. An increasingly large audience looks to Progressive Education for authoritative reports of the educational inventions and achievements of the day. In this many-sided discussion of what intelligent, conscientious parenthood should mean, there is fresh cause for enthusiasm over this competent, vigorous and always beautiful magazine.

GOVERNOR Alfred E. Smith has accepted the invitation of the board and staff of Survey Associates to make the principal address at a meeting to be held Monday evening, December 13, at the Hotel Astor, New York, on Water Power and the Social Stake in It. He will set forth his program of power development for New York State. Elon H. Hooker, president of the Hooker-Chemical Company and past president of the Manufacturing Chemists Association of the United States, will speak on Muscle Shoals and Agriculture. Ann Dennis Bursch, member of the Living Costs Committee of the National League of Women Voters, will deal with the householders' interest in electric development. Robert W. de Forest, president of Survey Associates, will be in the chair. The meeting will be preceded at seven o'clock by a dinner of Survey Associates and reservations may be made through this office. Out-of-town members and readers who will be in New York in mid-December are especially invited.

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

For Men Only

Illustrations by Clarence Day, Jr., from The Delicatessen Husband by Florence Guy Seabury, Harcourt, Brace & Co., reviewed on page 352.

I SAY—Where *is* Man's Sphere? Indeed, where was it ever? Here am I—Casabianca on the burning deck, Ulysses among the women—challenged by Ye Lady Editor to stand up for my sex in this Female Number and tease with saucy things behind that age-old sign of excommunication: Men Only. What's the sense of that sign, anyhow? Before what sanctums does it hang to-day, and, if anywhere, who pays attention? Woman's sphere is the *orbis terrarum.* Man gets what's left, the neck and gizzard.

I say— Where is man's sphere?

We have been sphereless for a decade without noticing our loss. They have invaded our holy places and stolen our thunder. They even tell our stories—though poorly, there being not a real *raconteur* to the sex. Nonsense! Ruth Draper is a mere *diseuse,* and Lady Astor a Virginian. They began by driving us out of the saloon and padlocking that true Palladium of our liberties where the male Ego once ramped in alcoholic vain-glory. They came clattering into our barber-shops, these short-haired Goths in suede sabots, and spurned the childish pink leering of The Police Gazette in favor of The Modern Priscilla. Stealing in by night, they made the prize-ring a boudoir, infested with French dancing-masters and gentlemen with Louis Quinze noses. They pursued us down-town like a plague of grasshoppers, and ruined our Delphic mystery—business. We no longer dare clang shut in their pert noses the paradisial gates of The Office. If we did, who'd get out the mail? The office is a mere smockery where lost souls called secretaries consult vanity-boxes, *not* the Racing Form. The weaker sex—bah! Bifurcation is open and unashamed; the pants' pocket a common possession, as in fact it always was. We haven't even a good rich-smelling livery-stable for our forum! The livery-stable is a garage where lady drivers smile sweetly while they dent your mud-guards. Democracy cannot withstand such deprivations. And if in despair at these usurpations on land, you dive, hell-bent into the sea, you are likely to be pulled out by some Channel-swimming matron and taken home to her two children. The male sect should put this ad. into the Trans-Astral Gazette:

WANTED: One Sphere, by lonely widower. No children. Will consider hemisphere or an ellipse. Within commuting distance of The Earth. Must be Permanent. Triflers need not apply.

Votes for Women! Jobs for Women! Babies for Women! Let them sing their girlish slogans and a moment after weep their girlish tears. Let them have the babies if they insist. That's their business. Let them take our jobs—what do we care? Give them all the votes, and a fat lot of good that will do them! They have taken the world as their Sphere. Now, by jinks, they can do the world's work. All we ever wanted was to go fishing and swap lies. But we must have something to fill our empty hands. So our slogan is Books for Men! Give us letters or give us life! Put us not only in the home, but on the shelf, between the cookbook and the family Bible. Of course, it is common gossip that the American woman has seized Culture for one Sphere (she has as many as an onion has skins) and that the women's magazines are the guide-books of our civilization and that our serious books are all written for the miss of seventeen. Even the two remaining male novelists have no class solidarity. The renegades always let a heroine slip in, and then the men characters fall into hopeless orbits round her, like electrons in the quanta theory. Still we have hopes. There *is* Robinson Crusoe. Ergo, my sphereless fellows, let us adopt this noble creed: "Books of the men, by the men, and for the men—only!"

They have invaded our holy places and stolen our thunder

The Fall books are not encouraging to the crusade. The American Senate by Lindsay Rogers is a good book, and about what has been called "the greatest Club in the world." Clubs were once manly places. But critics of the Senate, even Presidents, have said there are a lot of old women there; and it is notorious that the strongest bloc in the Senate is that of the Senators' wives. East of The Moon and West of The Sun by Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. and Kermit, seems to promise a land beyond woman's reach. But I find they went to get a goat, and so took their wives along. Beyond The Milky Way by George Ellery Hale is a regular catalog of empty spheres, but there is some trouble with the transportation system. We Pilgrim

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Fathers can't get there—yet.... But after searching I found the books for men only. They are labelled Crime. That is man's Sphere.

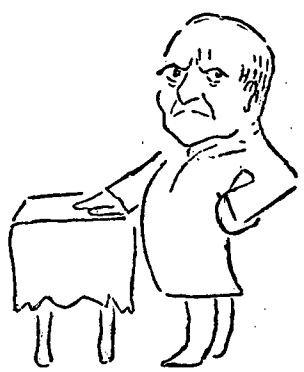
Now, shall we rejoin the Ladies? And the Human Race? and face, once more together, our common fate in a world of law, and law-breakers?

Wanted: One Sphere, by lonely widower

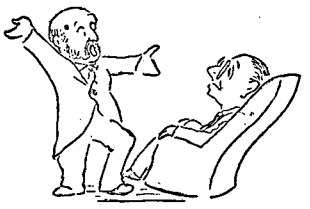
William Bolitho has written a tortuously fascinating volume on the unbelievable category, mass murder. Murder for Profit is an intricate study of the modern Bluebeards who have made of murder a business. The list is short, but terrible, and no woman's name appears therein. Since Borgia, Nature has never misguided woman's essential biological urge for conserving into fields of wholesale slaughter. The Gargantuan slayers have been men: Burke and Hare who manufactured cadavers to order for an Edinboro doctor at some ten pounds apiece; G. J. Smith who drowned women in bath-tubs to collect their pitiful insurances; Desiré Landru the undecipherable French despoiler of woman's bodies and fortunes; Fritz Haarman who sated perverse instincts by killing young boys. Here is a horrid international gallery, pictured for us with all Bolitho's cool courage, rare curiosity about the business called life, and all his passion for pattern in style. But here is no truckling with melodrama for groundlings' thrills. Rather he meticulously stifles melodrama and spoils tales, the better to illuminate the sadism in all souls. The criminologist may inspect in these terrible magnifications the instincts of less gross criminals. It is like comparing the mushroom called deadly aminita with a huge model that shows the fatal ruffled neck-band and the poison-cup rooted in the dank soil. Bolitho is isolating the cruel, insensate, subhuman, destructive ferment the race inherits from the slime. "Killing and creation are the terminal businesses of life; killing like creation is fenced up to the sky: it has its foundations in the recesses of the spirit."

All we ever wanted was to go fishing and to swap lies

He comes upon some curious social data. In the lives of these mass murderers is often a record of soldiering—"He is almost always found to have had dealings, psychological at any rate, with the institution of War." Again they have an odd common predilection for second-hand dealing. They handle used-up things. So lives become for them second-hand things to be re-used by murder. The essence of their horrid behaviorism is they treat life like a thing. They crack up bodies to feed and warm their vast selfishness, indifferent as we others are to the steer or sheep we eat. Some rare defect of the imagination has robbed them of their sense of Alter Ego, of humanity; and in this solipsism—this "I alone count" myth—they murder on the altar of a gigantic Self. This ultimate materialism is worse than lust or greed. We have our lesser exemplars today; gun-men who murder and get murdered as if all life were an abstraction, scarce worth a thought; and the in-bred intelligenzia soul who takes life "for fun." Here is the moral of this pent-up book: Life is not a thing.

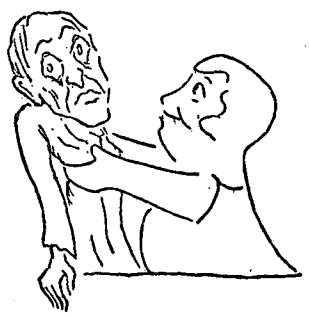


Ergo, my sphereless fellows, let us adopt this noble creed: "Books of the men, by the men and for the men—only!"



Votes for women! Jobs for women! Babies for women!

You Can't Win, by Jack Black—yegg, burglar, jail-bird, dope-fiend, and gambler—is not metaphysics of crime, nor some sniveller's late repentance. It is a set of tales and character studies of crooks, by a crook, and all true. It is better than a novel for it scorns artifice and depends for its breath-taking thrills upon facts and the age-long instinct for the man-hunt. Sometimes we hunt with the crook and sometimes with the "dicks." You are taken into the "gang" and stand trembling by a bedside while a purse slowly slips from under a sleeper's pillow. You help Julia out of her Madame's clutches; you lie low at Salt Chunk Mary's; you saw your way out of jail with Chew Chee, the Chink; you see George kill Gold Tooth in a tramp "jungle" and see George drop dead at the murderous blast of a chance duck-hunter's shotgun; you plant $4,000 in a post-hole and come back to find a house built on the spot. You learn more of the crook's real life than you dreamed possible; and for an honest citizen you enjoy the tale too much. Then you stand in bewildered admiration while Jack Black beats his own drug-habit by pure will ("You can beat any habit but *only* if you want to"). At last Fremont Older pulls Jack Black out of the depths—and he writes this Confession as librarian of The San Francisco Call! It is the happy ending for a restless will that spent thirty years on the wrong track. You can't win, says Black: "Half my thirty years in the underworld was spent in prison. Say I handled $50,000 in the fifteen years I was outside; that's about nine dollars a day. How much of that went to lawyers, fixers, bondsmen, and other places? Then count in the years in prison—suffering, hardship, privation. What chance have you?"



Put us not only in the home but on the shelf

"Jack Black was an experimental psychologist," says Robert Herrick in his pointed Introduction. Here is his laboratory note-book for the penologist's instruction. Here is expert testimony indeed on the clean decency of Canadian jails; on how books in prison libraries helped him; on the agonies of flogging and the straight-jacket that never "broke" him, but made him a raging diabolus of hate. This criminal was no sub-human fungus like Bolitho's. He was able, loyal, brave, and strong. But Life tripped his foot at the first cross-road and Society did nothing to set him right. His

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book tells how many people's fault that was. Jack Black has the courage to say it was his own.

Bishop William Montgomery Brown has written what to me is the most brilliant and searching book of the year. He was, of course, no criminal, but he was tried for a very grave crime—heresy. The Episcopal Church made him a bishop because he built churches with missionary zeal, inspired by naive faith.

To be sure I did not know anything, but that is no handicap to a theologue. It was a positive advantage. One who does not know anything can believe whatever he finds most convenient.

But his zeal broke his health. Then he read Darwin:

> The world that I had lived in up to that moment just disappeared. It did not merely fall into ruins. It collapsed without leaving any ruins. There was I, a sick old bishop . . . retired and ready to die, actually worn out in the service of a God whom the theologians had given me and about to pass on, within a few months at most, to the heaven which the theologians had imagined. . . . Where was *that* heaven, I wanted to know. "Search me," said the Universe: and that was all the satisfaction I could get.

Nor could he get more from his fellow bishops to whom he wrote humbly, telling of his lost heaven. He concluded blindly, prayerfully that the Church must make a new creed for a new age. Driven by his old missionary zeal, he said so, and tried. So he was haled before the high courts of his Church for heresy. Yet he loved the Church, he loved the Christian ideal, he loved his judges and they him: "The bishops all knew I was a good soul in my own peculiar way." At the trials, Bishop Brown dared not recant. He simply asked what the bishops believed themselves on the divinity of Christ, on the virgin birth, and about miracles. He wanted to force an admission that they already had a new creed. Their refusal to interpret their own doctrines, says Bishop Brown, was from fear lest they all be proven heretics. So with tears and injunctions in the background, in the heat of New Orleans, they deposed him by a vote of eighty-six to eleven.

This frame-work gives the author full scope for high irony and keen judgments on the church he knew and loved. This is spiritual autobiography written at moments like a comedy by Bernard Shaw. The author is humble and sincere but he cannot help laughing at the mere machinery of religion. He believes he is more religious than when he tried to create a Negro bishop of Arkansas. He remains by the chances of church sovereignty in the apostolic succession, now a bishop of the Old Catholic Church. You may not agree with his strictures on religion, but you will follow with deep interest his pilgrimage after the new truth. And his style is so child-like simple you will think of Bunyan or Defoe. It is a crystalline translator of his humor, his tolerance and charity, his self-revelation, and his yearning to help mankind.

LEON WHIPPLE

THE AMERICAN SENATE, *by Lindsay Rodgers. Knopf.* 285 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*
EAST OF THE SUN AND WEST OF THE MOON, *by Theodore Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt. Scribner's.* 284 *pp. Price* $3.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*
BEYOND THE MILKY WAY, *by George Ellery Hale. Scribner's.* 105 *pp. Price* $1.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*
MURDER FOR PROFIT, *by William Bolitho. Harper's.* 332 *pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*
YOU CAN'T WIN, *by Jack Black. Macmillan.* 394 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*
MY HERESY, *by Bishop William Montgomery Brown. The John Day Co.,* 273 *pp. Price* $2.00 *postpaid of The Survey.*

The True Romance

IN The Book of Marriage "twenty-four leaders of contemporary thought" undertake to provide a "new interpretation" of marriage in five hundred pages. The field covered is, and must be wide. In Part One, Keyserling considers "the correct statement of the problem." In Part Two (twelve chapters) the actual facts of marriage, in various times and places, are set forth. Nieuwenhuis and Frobenius state the conclusions of anthropological investigation. Tagore and Wilhelm describe the Oriental institution of marriage in India and China respectively, various scholars and artists discuss European marriage, Beatrice Hinkle

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critically considers marriage in the New World. The topic of the third part of the book (twelve chapters) is the "eternal problem" of marriage. In this section also, many of the writers are widely known to the English reading public—Keyserling, Jung, Adler, Kretschmer, Havelock Ellis. Such a book cannot be adequately reported or reviewed in small space. One has to consider the thesis that emerges when the book is considered as a whole—leaving the reader to discover for himself the detailed excellences or eccentricities of the various chapters.

Fortunately the determination of the thesis that emerges after careful reading is not difficult. Keyserling's essay in Part One is obviously the "new interpretation" which the remaining chapters merely expand, to which they merely contribute. It is an excellent essay, probably the best statement that has yet appeared on the distinctive character of civilized marriage. It should do much to promote sanity of discussion and to restore our respect for a most important social institution.

Keyserling's first claim is that marriage is inevitable: intimate association together will work out as marriage or will not work at all. "No matter how great and enduring the love, the sexual element soon assumes a secondary role" (p. 9). This applies equally to irregular unions and to conventionally ordered marriages. The human tendency to develop a relation of any kind, to make it more complex, cannot be avoided. A liaison is a less than human association, too much weight is placed upon the mere sexual intimacy. The parties to the relation become bored (or perverse); the tendency to "complication" leads them to an "unfaithfulness" which, rightly understood, is a renewal of the search for marriage and the true romance.

The same criticism applies to merely conventional marriage. In these days "most people marry inadvertently" (p. 290). Consequently in many instances marriage is regarded as providing a legitimate gratification for essentially sinful desires. In this Keyserling replies that sex desire is not in any sense sinful; he agrees with Havelock Ellis that every man and woman should "develop an erotic personality" (p. 385). But, he points out, no man or woman can succeed in developing an erotic except as part of a wider personality. The merely conventional union, if it remains so, fails for precisely the same reason as the liaison; it rests the emphasis of the association too heavily upon sexual intimacy. "The satiety of the bourgeois conception of happiness awakens nothing but disquiet in every intelligent and aspiring youth" (p. 20). Marriage is not a concession to the weakness and sins of the flesh but is rather a means of attaining the highest spiritual development (p. 27). Marriage, therefore, represents the adult stage of human development. A man and woman become intimately associated in order that they may develop to the highest possible degree their distinctively human capacities. Associations of an inferior order preclude the development of more complex human powers. Irregular union, conventional marriages which remain so, and marriages based upon bourgeois conceptions of satiety are alike in that they are grossly sexual, necessarily failures and beneath the human level.

Marriage, then, is not an end but a beginning. It is not to be defined in terms of sex or of any particular human capacity, it is "a relation between two persons capable of development" (p. 13). In marrying, one accepts responsibility and also suffering. But (*Continued on page* 348)

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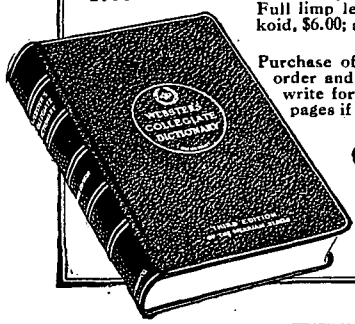

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CITY LIFE AND DOMESTIC DISCORD

(*Continued from page* 299)

much of the diversity of rates may be explained in terms of differing legal codes and practices. Those communities with the highest rates of family disintegration tend to form an innermost zone, with a diminution in the rates as one goes out from the center of the city until a band of communities is reached in which family disintegration is infrequent. Obviously, the distribution is not perfect—lines of rapid transportation create mobility in certain outlying communities and increase the rate of family disintegration. Certain immigrant colonies, on the other hand, though centrally located, because of religious taboos against divorce do not show the amount of family disintegration one might expect otherwise.

Chicago communities may further be classified with reference to the prevailing form of family disintegration, as areas of divorce and desertion; areas of desertion; areas of divorce; and areas of neither divorce nor desertion. These also tend to be found in zones in the order named, proceeding from the center of the city outward.

Comparison of this classification of family disintegration with the earlier one of family areas reveals a correlation between the maternal family areas and the communities in which there is no family disintegration; the paternal family areas and communities with only desertion; the equalitarian family areas and communities with both divorce and desertion, as well as those areas in which there is divorce only. The emancipated family, being an interstitial group, ecologically, cannot be said to be correlated with any particular group of communities classed with reference to family disintegration, though divorce is prevalent.

These findings reveal not only the great disparity between the rate of family disintegration in one part of the city and that in another, but also the regularity with which family disintegration is associated with certain forces producing mobility, such as: the expansion of industrial organization, the extension of money economy to an increasing number of the interests of life, the increase in communication and the breakdown of neighborhood contacts, with its accompanying disappearance of the restrictive force of neighborhood opinion. The degree to which these forces diminish as one proceeds outward from the center of the city has never been adequately studied. Yet these differences in the factors of "location" seem to be closely related to the prevalence and type of family disorganization.

In the outlying sections of the city are found conditions very much as one finds them in the country. The family as we know it today developed under rural conditions where contacts were intimate and family status fixed. The center of the city represents the other extreme—casual and formal contacts in which one's dress and "front" determine one's status. The significant thing is that the situation at the center of the city represents only an exaggeration of what one finds in all the areas between the two extremes.

THE tendency is for contacts in all areas of the city to become impersonal. The family has not yet adapted itself to this change in social relations and accordingly we see its disorganization on every hand. There are, of course, indications that a new type of family organization is appearing which has adapted itself to the conditions of city life. How prevalent this new form of family relationship has become and how able it will be to withstand the disorganizing forces of city life cannot be said at this time. Statistics of family disintegration show only those cases in which there was a failure to adapt the family relationship to city conditions.

The current cannot be stemmed, as so many reformers seem to think, by going back to old ways and old customs. The only line of progress lies in the direction of an objective study of city life through first-hand investigation without too many presumptions regarding the nature of the problem being studied. The problem of the disorganization of the family is only a part of the disorganization generally prevalent in the city. The family has come to the city from the country and has been disorganized in its journey. It cannot and will not become organized by returning to the country, but only by working out new habits, new points of view, new ideals, adapted to the complicated and shifting conditions of city life.

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WHAT ARE PARENTS FOR?

(*Continued from page* 309)

and individuality in, the social group known as "parents" of whom we think collectively and come to expect certain things, they do remain individuals with flesh and blood, appetites, emotions, hopes and aspirations—lives to live out. It is unfortunate that they should become slaves of their parenthood. It happens because most people desire to be slaves. Slavery offers a variety of satisfaction—slavery to a nation, an idea, a political party,, an obligation. All of which means merely slavery to one's self, or a part of one's self. When people generally are able to give up slavery, when they are no longer willing (no longer need) to be in slavery to any person or thing—least of all to themselves—then perhaps we may begin to have some notion as to what parents are capable of and probably for. With so little data to base a judgment upon—some that would seem trustworthy—one can only surmise what the possibilities may be.

Such parents will probably no more consider their children—for they will not need to—their peculiar personal property to be used *ad libitum* for their emotional aggrandizement than intelligent parents now consider babies little angels sent from Heaven. They will probably realize that children belong primarily to themselves. It is a new individual that has been born and it has a right, consonant with other rights, to the development of the possibilities inherent within itself. It is so much a fortuitous circumstance that it was born to any given pair that a proprietorship can scarcely be claimed. It has contracted no debts, no guilts, no blames; it will eventually have to pay such debts and guilts as it does contract but from the day it is born it should not be made to pay for the accumulated emotional obligations of two adults.

Parents who are no longer slaves themselves will have no need to place others in bondage. Their satisfaction will be not in moulding but in watching the unfolding and development of the possibilities of the child itself. They will know and will furnish to the child such emotional elements as the child needs for its nourishment, and for which the child is dependent upon them—neither surfeiting him nor starving him nor doing first the one and then the other. They will watch with interest and without alarm the experiments of the child as it endeavors to discover itself and its world, satisfied themselves to serve as mentors. They will watch with equanimity, so long as it is healthy, the development of a personality and character peculiarly the child's own, even though it may be one they would not personally have prescribed. That it is healthy and sound and that it is the child's own will be sufficient, a character that the child can have confidence in and respect and which they can respect, and respecting, respect themselves as well.

For they have done a good thing. By their union they have given creation to a new individual containing a grouping of potentialities that has never before precisely existed. They have protected it, nourished it, guided its energies without bruising it, into healthful channels and permitted it to develop its own peculiar potentialities to their fullest extent. They have created a companion worthy of themselves and of all men and women free to respect themselves.

AS THE CHILDREN SEE IT

(*Continued from page* 313)

begun to suspect her own over-pressure and readily accepted the suggestion that a part-time position for her might help Helen to secure a larger experience in self-reliance. And thus began a professional life that yielded a larger measure of freedom for mother and daughter. Helen found a real necessity for self-dependence and she emerged from her weak docility to a natural sense of self-confidence and self-direction.

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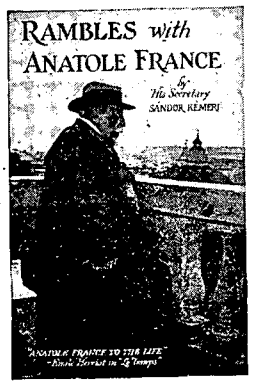

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Their characters expand and develop a richness that almost makes one grateful that mother works. Nevertheless there is an element of child labor in casting responsibility upon young minds and immature bodies. There may be spiritual values in the home occupation of children but it is a diminishing return when it is mandatory and continuous. The responsibility for the home, for the educaton, guidance and direction of children, remains parental, regardless of the social distress that transfers it to children. Many youngsters enjoy helping mother, washing dishes, sewing, cooking, doing housework, helping with the children. There is a vast difference in their attitudes when such duties are voluntary, occasionally requested, or demanded as a routine with the added burden of responsibility.

Ministers, judges, sociologists and psychiatrists are wont to point out the negative trends in home organization. They iterate and reiterate that the greatest juvenile problems arise from the decreasing pressures of parental discipline and the increasing instability of the home. If there be considerable truth in their opinion, then the working home has to be viewed carefully as a social institution.

WE must ascertain the facts and figures of infant mortality, of truancy, juvenile delinquency, sex crimes, institutions for orphans and half orphans, boarding homes, jails, workhouses, mental breakdowns and attempts at suicide before arriving at a conclusion concerning the effects upon children of the economic freedom of women.

To consider the "working home" without reference to the children of the workers is to accept the shell as the growing part of the nut. The home has centered about the children —they know it; they feel it; they act it; they think about it; they emote about it; they misbehave about it. Is it just because they are children?

Is society beginning to reject the contributions of homes to the formation and development of ideas, principles and ideals of children? What is the "working home" to become? Despite the pessimism that arises from breaking with the past before the future stands revealed, faith in social integrity need not die. The world is changing; possibly it is progressing. The home is participating in the transitions of a commercial, machine age. Its future is not predictable but there is ample reason to believe that whatever it may be it will meet the social needs of its generation. There may be a new home spirit—a new morality and a new domestic arrangement. If the home appears to be disintegrating one may be certain that it is in preparation for a better adapted re-integration. Some form of home will exist as long as there are children. Possibly a continually declining birth-rate will eventually solve the problem.

THE NEW PROFESSION OF HOMEMAKING
(*Continued from page* 317)

of such work. She has above all the task of clearing away the tradition that all women are "born homemakers." The woman who prefers an occupation outside the home could have no better friend than the professional homemaker who, standing for training and scientific procedure, can insist that here is a profession into which people are graduated through hard work and not merely through the accident of being born a woman.

The profession of homemaking is still an indefinite conglomeration of activities. If there is any field crying for job analysis, this is it. But perhaps, in broad outline, we might list the functions of the homemaker as the six given on page 317.

While the mother in every family has these functions she has neither the time, the training nor always the ability to carry them out on her own initiative. She needs direction and help. She needs the professional homemaker working in a scientific spirit as an adjuster of family problems and sharing her finding with the homes of the community. Those women who remain in their homes but who have not had the broad training essential for the leaders in the field of homemaking can do highly worth while work, however, by cooperating with the leaders in offering their homes as laboratories and themselves as laboratory assistants in the investigations and experiments carried on by the professional homemaker.

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THE NEW PROFESSION OF HOMEMAKING

(*Continued from page* 317)

as their field the working out of systems of improved household management, of plans for the better provision of commodities and services needed in the house, for the care and training of children, for the improvement of individual and of group relationships, and for the development of a socially justifiable code of consumption based on a sound philosophy of living. This is indeed no task for the amateur!

In the educational world two of the most interesting experiments of the past year are those inaugurated at Smith and at Vassar. Starting as they have upon a somewhat different basis and with somewhat different aims and points of view, still the underlying assumption of each is the same, that is, that the majority of women will continue to marry and to have homes.

At Smith the purpose is to develop means which will make it possible for the college woman to continue her outside interests after marriage, the assumption being that in the majority of cases this will not mean a full-time outside job. With this in view, research is being carried on into the problems of the provision of services for the care of the house and of the children upon a scientific basis but at a cost which will be within reach of the modest income of the average family. Present experiments are being conducted along the lines of cooperative enterprises. Later the directors plan to study the possibilities of part-time jobs for women in various fields.

Vassar started its Institute of Euthenics with the underlying idea that the psychological and social problems of the home are of more importance than the mechanical, or at least have received less attention and therefore are still more largely unsolved. Euthenics is defined as the science of efficient living, the study of the controllable environment and its adaptation for the improvement of the individual and therefore of the race. The institute is developing a new focal point in cultural education. The natural and social sciences have been larely focused around the problems of production. Vassar proposes to correlate the resources of modern science which bear upon the home and the family and to turn the attention of educated women toward the possibilities of using these resources for the betterment of human living.

This summer the first group of women, gathered together from across the country, met at Vassar and discussed their problems. These women did not come with an individualistic or selfish point of view. The majority there felt that they were representing a group, that it was their task to gather what they could and to carry it back to their communities to help others who were struggling with the same problems. It was a profession in the making.

What did they discuss? The problems of the home and of the family: the relation of husband and wife, of mother and child, the role of the father in the family; the physical care of the child, his psychological development, his behavior; the legal problems of the family; its social problems; its economic problems.

As for the details, the economic problems alone compose a lengthy list. There were all the problems of household management, the use of the homemaker's time, the relative advantage of making at home or of buying articles produced by commercial or cooperative agencies, the cost of labor-saving equipment, its efficient utilization, the problem of domestic labor—a question which the economist has never attacked—the handling of family finances. Still further, there were the questions of the responsibility of the individual in utilizing his income, the relation of his buying habits to other economic and social phenomena, the effects of systems of marketing, of governmental activities, of the tariff, of taxation upon the consumer. And so the list could run on.

19 WAYS OF BEING A BAD PARENT
BY MIRIAM VAN WATERS, REFEREE OF THE LOS ANGELES JUVENILE COURT
IN SURVEY GRAPHIC FOR JANUARY
ORDER FORM [AND BARGAIN] ON PAGE 260

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Never was the family discussed as a closed unit. Social conditions influencing family life, the social and economic functions and responsibilities of the family, its relation and the relation of its individual members to each other and to the community—these were the points of emphasis. If the summer's discussion were to be summed up in one phrase that phrase would be human relations. Regardless of the starting point it ended in the relationship of the homemaker or of some member of her family to some individual or to some group and in the philosophy underlying that relationship.

In the homemaker we need not a specialist in one narrow field but one who recognizes a complex of relationships of which the individual in the family is the center, who sees all knowledge as a possible source of improvement in family living, who knows the problems of the family and further knows the expert to turn to with the demands for a solution of them. She is not a specialist in nutrition, in household management, in child care, in social work. Her task is that of correlation, of synthesis. Her most important work is that of director of family relations and of family consumption. Her essential equipment is a philosophy of living, a philosophy of consumption based on ideals of efficiency, of utility, and of social value. Her object is the development of a social theory and a social practice of consumption and the betterment of human relations as they affect the family and the home.

A NEW inspection of social values, a sorting out of conventional and traditional demands, a recognition of where we are blindly following imitation and the suggestions of high-power salesmanship and advertising, in other words a thorough revaluation of our middle class code of consumption is a real social need. Quantity production and the evils at present tied up with it are not inseparable. If we change our habits of consumption we can remedy many of the ills of society. We could demand simplification and standardization of many articles of consumption and then buy to specification, with the result that much that now is wasted in competitive advertising might go into more socially profitable channels. We might refuse to follow rapid style changes and so do something toward reducing seasonal fluctuations and unemployment. We could insist upon buying only those products made under conditions which we felt justified in supporting. The women of leisure have been responsible for developing our code of consumption as it now stands and it is they who must revise it. The problem of showing them their responsibility is a task for the professional homemaker.

The new homemaker will take her place as director of family consumption, as the representative of the socially-minded consumer, as the student of family relations and as the laboratory worker in experiments in family living. All professions have been built out of small beginnings. In the case of the homemaker there will be the difficulty of differentiating the real professional and her cooperating assistants from the supported do-nothing wife. But the public will learn to see the difference and to place a relative value and recognition upon the services of each. Homemaking will be a profession carried on by a selected group of individuals confining their activities to a well recognized field centering around the home and having a definite preparation for their work. The family, the home and the city which, in one sense, is merely an extension of the home, need women of leisure with the point of view of the family and of the consumer, with trained minds and a social outlook, who may act as leaders of public opinion and as initiators of new activities, as social engineers working, in what will be for many years an unpaid profession, for the betterment of family living.

M. CARY THOMAS was a senior at Cornell when FLORENCE KELLEY was a freshman. Those pioneer years of co-education make a fascinating chapter in MRS. KELLEY'S NOTES OF SIXTY YEARS, with contemporary portraits and the old Cornell campus, in SURVEY GRAPHIC for January. *Order form, p. 260.*

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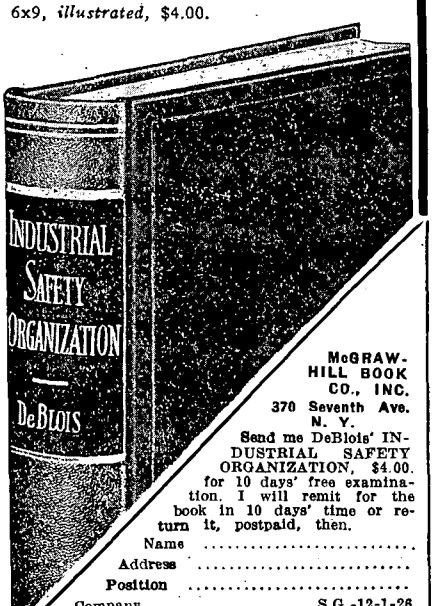

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THEY MUST WORK

(*Continued from page* 311)

played when her mother was at work. It was very hard to see her for only a brief hour or less in the evening. Anna loves her child with deep, primitive devotion.

"Everything is better now."

Anna has become a skilled operative, one of the best in her shop. She makes fifty dollars a week, about six months a year, and usually manages to get some sort of work most of the dull season, when Bonnaz operators are laid off. She has a three-room apartment out on Long Island. Mary, who is ten, goes to school only a block away. Before she leaves for work, Anna gets the child's breakfast and "puts things tidy." Mary carries sandwiches to school and has twenty cents a day to buy hot soup and a glass of milk to go with them. She has her own latchkey, and when she comes home from school she "fixes bread and milk." Then she plays out of doors with the two children of the landlady. In bad weather, Anna pays the landlady to "take Mary in."

Anna comes home at half-past six. She gets supper, plays with Mary a little while and, after the child is in bed, does her housework, which includes the laundry and all the sewing for the two of them.

Anna does not like noice and machinery. If she could, she would be a homeworker and "stay all the days long with my little home and my child."

Anna's home is comfortable and attractive. Anna's child is strong and well-grown and promising. Anna is in the best paid group of women in industry. When Mary is sich, Anna stays home to nurse her, loses her wages and "runs up doctor bills." With a good deal of forethought and self-sacrifice she can purchase this luxury for herself.

The great lack in Anna's life is recration. She has no leisure, no time for herself, no time to make or to see friends, to have in any degree the social contacts of a normal life.

"But I'm lucky—I see other women that go to work and can't earn much and got a pig for a husband and a kid every year. I'm lucky—Gee, I know I am!"

Mrs. Vinelli Sews on Pants

MRS. VINELLI does home work in a basement apartment, less than a block from Columbia University. She is a pants finisher. It is a long trip downtown, carrying her finished work to the jobber and bringing home a fresh supply.

"But my kids no run street by here. My kids play Morningside Park."

There are three kids—Tony, Maria, Josefa, aged eight, seven and six. A fourth child was killed by a truck in Bleecker Street two years ago. After that the Vinelli's moved "uptown."

Mr. Vinelli, a cobbler by trade, works first in one little neighborhood shop and then another; he is afflicted with "fits." Mrs. Vinelli never stops working. She bent over her endless blue serge seams as I talked to her, her fingers flying. She does the housework and the family sewing and tailoring as a matter of course. In addition, she finishes two bundles a week, "some weeks three," picking up her home work and laying it down according to the demands of her household. She earns from six to eight dollars a week.

There are always tears in Mrs. Vinelli's eyes. She bends very close to her work, and one impatient hand keeps brushing the tears away.

"Eyes no good," she says, and her voice shakes. Mrs. Vinelli is afraid. The Inspectors are always bothering her about night work.

"I don't work night, when I get work done? I don't get work done, when we eat?" It's as simple as that. And so till midnight or later she sews away at dark serge pants.

The children all go to school. They are clean, bright children.

"My kids know nice kids," Mrs. Vinelli says proudly. "My kids play in nice place."

But the inspectors worry about the Vinelli children. Sometimes the children help with the home work. Mrs. Vinelli was rushing to finish a bundle the day I was there. When she

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found I was not an inspector, she let them go on with the work they had evidently hidden at my knock. All three bent serious faces close to their tasks. Josefa often stopped to brush away tears, like her mother.

Of course children in the most modern and expensive schools learn and enjoy household processes, including sewing. But pulling bastings, in response to a harrassed "hurry, hurry," when eyes hurt and heads ache and tears come—

"They don't work much. I don't like them work. Kids should be out-doors. But I got to get finished. What we eat if I don't get my money? Last night work till one, two o'clock. This morning up at five, work, work, work—we got to eat, no?"

Flora Does Housework

FLORA'S husband, who was "in the navy," deserted her sixteen years ago, when her baby was four months old. The woman for whom she had done general housework before Lillian was born was glad to get her back again.

"I couldn't find a day nursery that would take Negroes," Flora said, "I had to board my baby out all day. I left her when I went to Mrs. Finley's and stopped for her on my way home. I never got through before eight. If there was a party, it was ten or eleven sometimes. The hours in housework are bad. They want breakfast on the table at eight and dinner at seven, and they want you to serve again if they entertain. Sometimes they pay extra for late work. Mrs. Finley did. But some women—you wouldn't believe how mean some women are."

Flora tried taking in washing. "But the place was full of steam all the time and Lillian had one cold after another and then she had pneumonia." So Flora went back to house work with Lillian boarded out.

When Lillian was four, Flora was able to send for her mother who lived in Baltimore. Lillian went to kindergarten, her grandmother did the cooking and sewing and took care of the child in the afternoon. Flora's wages, from forty to fifty dollars a month, supported them all.

"We didn't have much money, but we were awful happy. Lillian was getting good care, and Mama and I always managed together fine."

But that was only a two-year interlude. The grandmother suffered a paralytic stroke and lingered on for nearly four years, a bedridden invalid. She lay alone and helpless during the morning while Flora was at work and Lillian at school. At noon the little girl (she was only six when her grandmother was stricken) fed the invalid the lunch Flora had left ready, ate her own, and then played out in the street.

"She'd run in real often to see that Mama was all right—poor little thing. She and I cried together many and many a time, we were both so worried. Seemed like I'd die sometimes, going off to work, leaving Mama there alone, thinking about my baby alone in the streets or trying to take care of Gramma. And both of them so helpless if anything was to go wrong—sometimes I'd stand in the middle of the kitchen not knowing where I was, just eaten alive with worrying."

But that interlude ended, too. The old grandmother died. The war came, with the scarcity of domestic help, and the chance for Flora, who is a swift and intelligent worker, to go out by the day at fifty cents an hour.

"It's lots harder doing day work, because the Missis leaves the hardest part for the woman. General work, there's times in every day when you can ease off a little. Day work it's just so—go—go. Washing, ironing, scrubbing, housecleaning, washing windows, all the heaviest, dirtiest part of housework. But you come at eight and you quit at half-past four. And when it's time to quit you quit."

Flora was able to take two rooms instead of one, and to get a roomer who "minded" Lillian outside school hours and did a good deal of the sewing in return for part of her living.

Flora now has two half-time places, one from eight o'clock to two, the second from two-thirty to five-thirty. She earns twenty-five dollars a week. Two or three evenings a week she is called on to cook and serve a dinner, which means four to six dollars more a week.

Lillian graduated from highschool last June, one of ten honor students in a class of five hundred. This year she is

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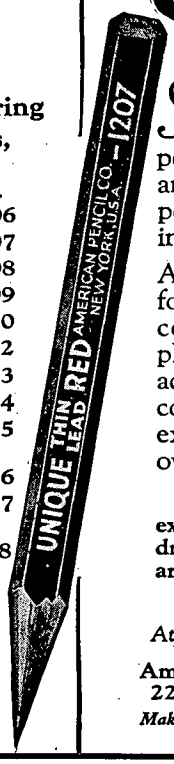

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at a famous conservatory of music, where she won a competitive scholarship.

Flora says:

"Lots of times I've been so tired I thought I never could go on. Lots of times, when I couldn't get work or got with some mean, ugly woman, I've looked at those that had it easy and hated everything. It's worse for Negroes than for white women. No one believes you're honest or decent. People will get the last drop of work out of you and cheat you on your wages if they can. And yet when I see what happens to some women in their own homes and some children, too, I think Lillian and I haven't been so bad off. There couldn't be a brighter, smarter girl than my girl. And I've got lots of work in me yet. I'm saving money so I'll never be a burden to her when I'm old. And I won't be, either."

Naomi Is a Supervisor

NAOMI is typical of a very small group, the woman in industry who has worked up to a supervisory position, a degree of freedom from mechanized routine and a steady and adequate salary. She has the oversight of the Bonnaz operators in a garment shop.

Naomi is now in her middle thirties. She has one child, a boy of twelve. Naomi left her husband when her son was a year old. The next four years her home was one room in some East Side rooming house where the landlady would "look after" Nathan.

"It's hard to find that kind of a place."

Sometimes it meant hunting and moving every week. Always it meant a load of anxiety, and to do swift, accurate work under the strain of endless worry is not easy.

"It nearly pulled my heart out every morning to leave him, and not know how much he'd be crying or whether he'd be warm or whether she'd remember to feed him. And later—when I knew he was turned out in the street the minute I was around the corner—I used to think I'd go raving crazy."

By the time Nathan was five and a half Naomi was earning enough to send him to boarding school, a very advanced experimental school an hour's ride from New York. With a partial scholarship, it cost her about forty-five dollars a month, in addition to the expense of her week-end visits to him. One of the teachers at the school has taken Nathan to his New England farm during the summers, as a "paying guest," to be a companion to his own little boy. Naomi has had one phenomenal piece of luck: "Nathan has never been sick a day in his life."

Two years ago Naomi remarried. Her husband is able and willing to support her and her son. His yearly earnings of twenty-five hundred dollars are three hundred dollars more than hers. But Naomi has not given up her job. She is very active in union affairs. She likes her work. It calls for skill in handling people, in planning work and getting it done. She feels that she could not go back to household routine.

"It's just as much a treadmill as any factory and it's so lonesome. All the time you're working you have to be working alone."

But her chief reason is that she cannot bear to give up all that her earnings mean to the household.

"What could we have on twenty-five hundred a year? We could have three rooms where we have five now. I'd do all my own work, and I'm not like some women—I get no kick out of cooking and sewing. Nathan would go to public school. He's a smart boy. He's worth a good education. Every week I'm laying something by toward his college education. If I go on working, Nathan gets to Harvard or Columbia or wherever he wants to go. If I quit, he gets through highschool and then he puts himself through some cheap college or else takes a job. And of course on one salary, working class people don't have many luxuries. We like a good show, my husband and me. We're crazy about music. We go to two or three concerts a month all winter. We like to go out to dinner sometimes and take some friends with us. And so I say, why should we give up all these things? I think I'll keep my job."

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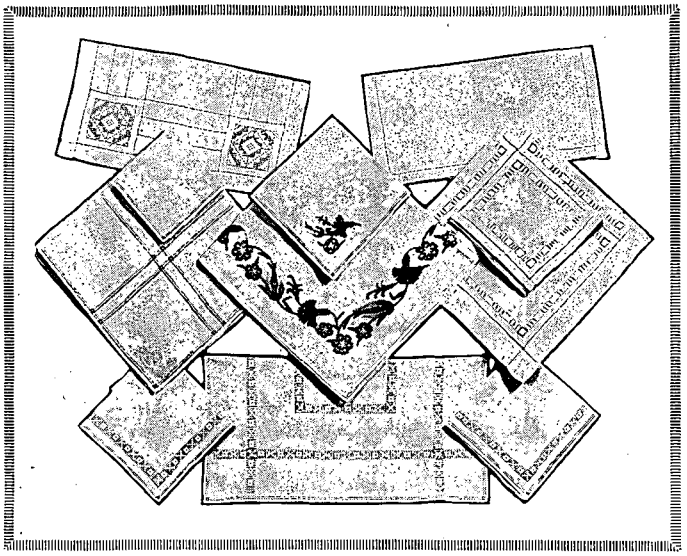

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CS 0326—Runner Set (center) Runner 36"x17½" cream linen, edge finished with double hemstitching in blue; attractive border in colored cross-stitch and Oriental pattern adapted from antique Turkish towel; six 18"x12" mats, edge and border matching runner **$15.00**

CS 0301—Runner Set (lower) Runner 36"x17½" in fine white linen, cross-stitch in pastel colors, coral and blue predominating in a beautful design and border; four 18"x12" mats with border; four 14" napkins with design in corner.....**$17.50**

CS 0420—Table cover (upper left) Square cloth 19"x19"; double hemstitched edge in dark blue; cross-stitch border and charming design in each corner in pastel shades.....**$3.75**

CS 0424—Runner (upper right) white linen 38"x16" edge double hemstitched in black; three rows of orange and black hemstitching on each side of conventional tree pattern in harmonizing shades of orange, green and black.....**$4.75**

Illustrated below

CS 0462—Scarf (uper left) 14"x21"; four rows of hemstitching and Aintab drawn-work squares in corners **$4.50**

CS 0441—Scarf (upper right) 15"x28"; fine white linen, pomegranate design in Suzani stitch on each end **$3.50**

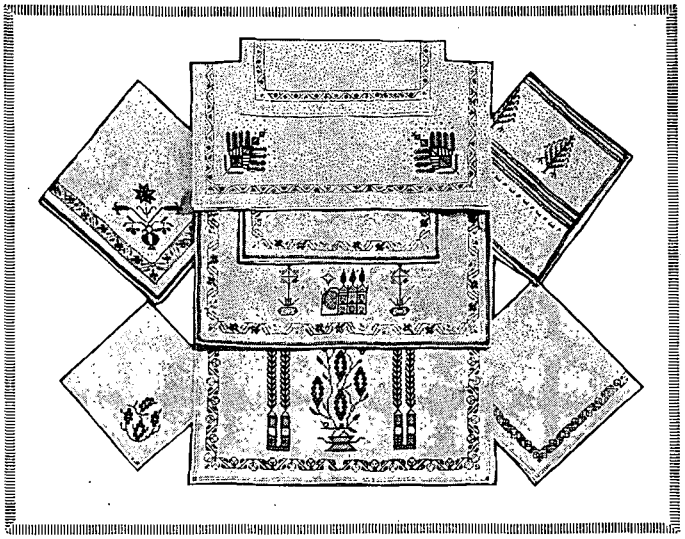
CS 0421—Lucheon Set (center left); all white linen cloth 36" square; rows of double hemstitching enclosing exquisite design in Suzani pattern; six 10" nakins with design in corner.....**$14.50**

CS 0168—Luncheon Set (center); white linen cloth 36" square, double hemstitching, flower design in Suzani stitch, colors in each cloth coral, blue and yellow; four 14" napkins, design in corner..**$16.00**

CS 039—Luncheon Set (center right) white linen cloth 40" square; Aintab drawn-work enclosed in border of double hemstitching; four 14" napkins, drawn-work border.....**$15.00**

CS 0463—Runner Set (bottom) Runner 36"x17" fine white linen, two rows of exquisite Aintab drawn-work; six mats 11"x17½"; six 14" napkins, all with Aintab border and double hemstitching. **$25.25**

Illustrated at top of page



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however, that they have chosen to put the blame on a third party rather than to criticise each other.

In Germany

THE forced resignation of General von Seeckt as commander-in-chief of the German Reichswehr was much more than a disciplinary punishment for his indiscretion in permitting the eldest son of the ex-Crown Prince to take part in the army manoeuvres without the knowledge of Minister of Defense Gessler. Von Seeckt has long been subject to sharp criticism by the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission. Technically head of the Reichswehr, he was looked upon actually as the chief of the German General Staff which was supposedly abolished by the Treaty of Versailles. Moreover, though loyal to the Republic, he is at heart a monarchist. It is not surprising, therefore, that the German government seized upon his indiscretion as a means of making a gesture which would have favorable repercussions in Paris and the other allied countries. Incidentally, the Cabinet's firmness on this point shows how secure the republican forces now feel themselves to be.

In Czechoslovakia

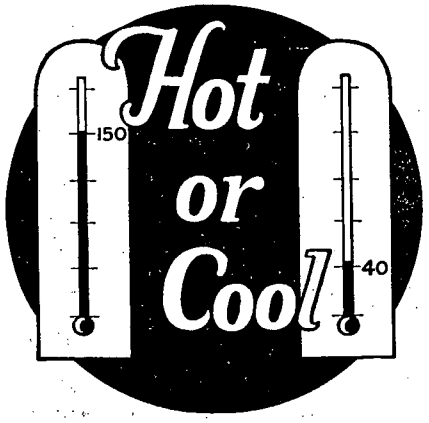
IN Czechoslovakia, the most important move towards consolidation and conciliation within the new republic was made on October 13. Then for the first time was the large German minority (comprising approximately a quarter of the population) given representation in the Cabinet. Until very recently the relations between the millions of German citizens and Prague was one of sharp antagonism. Economic interests overcame nationalistic prejudice in a vote in the Czechoslovak Parliament last spring and German agrarians voted with Czech agrarians to defeat a Socialist bill. This move towards reconciliation is based also on political expediency, for presidential elections are to be held next spring and President Masaryk feels the need of support from all possible quarters. Extreme nationalist agitation is rife in the young republic as elsewhere and this belated concession to the German minority was due largely to the personal influence of Dr. Masaryk. It is none the less symptomatic of the dominant tendency of the time—a sort of internal "spirit of Locarno."

In Russia

THE ninth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution was celebrated in Moscow November 9. Two weeks earlier the fifteenth congress of the Communist party was signalized by two decisive victories of the dominant group, headed by Stalin, over Trotsky, Zinovieff, Kameneff and those associated with them. First, the fundamental practice of Communism, that absolute discipline must be maintained within the party, was reaffirmed. Once a decision is taken, the minority must cease to agitate against it. Hence Trotsky and those opposed to Stalin's program were officially silenced and forced to make a confession of wrong-doing. Second, Stalin maintained his policy of concessions to private enterprises and to the interest of the peasant. His opponents had bitterly characterized these measures as anti-Leninist and as tending towards peasant capitalism. But the majority of opinion in the Communist Party supported the opportunism of Stalin rather than the hundred per cent orthodoxy of Trotsky.

Incidentally, it is perhaps significant to note that in the official anniversary pronouncements on November 9, there were only four references to foreign affairs as compared with twenty-three on domestic questions. Obviously the influence of the Third International is waning. Slowly but surely the imponderable influences of a capitalistic world are forcing the Soviet authorities more and more to sacrifice their strict party principles at home and to recognize that abroad the coming of the "world revolution" has been indefinitely postponed.

(*Continued on page* 348)



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Ernestine Evans makes a study of women whom she calls "Tired Feminists"
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HORIZON LINES

(*Continued from page* 345)

In Italy

FOR the first time Facism shows signs of panic. The drastic restrictive legislation approved by the Fascist authorities in Rome on November 5, if approved by the Parliament, will place Italy in effect under military rule. The provisions of some of the proposed laws are so drastic and so far-reaching, affecting as they do both foreigners and Italians whether in Italy or abroad, as to be almost unbelievable.

According to press reports, "Citizens living abroad who spread exaggerated, mendacious news about the state's internal conditions shall be liable to imprisonment from five to fifteen years, and if in their absence they are condemned by default they shall be subject to loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. . . . Any citizen or foreigner who commits in foreign territory any of the foregoing crimes shall be subject to the prescribed penalties and trial in Italy, even if he has already been tried and sentenced abroad, and in default is liable to loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. . . . All publications opposing the Fascist régime are indefinitely suspended and all organizations against the régime are dissolved."

It is too early to comment with any assurance on the extraordinary stories of intrigue revealed through the arrest in France of Ricciotti Garibaldi, grandson of the Italian liberator and presumably the acknowledged leader of the anti-Fascist forces outside of Italy. If it is proved that he was in fact an *agent provocateur,* subsidized by the Fascist police to stimulate anti-Fascist plots in France, Mussolini's prestige will have received a serious blow. He can ill afford to be involved in a conspiracy worthy of a Borgia.

LETTERS & LIFE

(*Continued from page* 333)

personal freedom and happiness come by significant achievement and by this road only. The will to adventure is the primary phenomenon of human life" (p. 21); marriage is a joint adventure in spiritual freedom and achievement. Only by means of this greatest of human intimacies can one conserve for a lifetime that sense of adventure and romance without which life is meaningless. Marriage is not a passive or fixed state; it is dynamic and active.

Certain conclusions follow from this approach to the problem. If "marriage is a matter of mutual destiny" for two highly developed persons, they will find it incumbent upon them to study with care their relations to each other. Differences of quality in man and woman affect in some degree that absolute equality of rights which must characterize the true romance. Intimate association, also, cannot be taken to mean perpetual and uninterrupted association. These problems will not, however, adversely influence the partners in the direction of tragic conflict—for tragic conflict "is fundamentally a sign of inadequate education" (p. 303).

The most interesting inference which concludes Keyserling's analysis is implicit throughout his discussion. Polygamy and divorce have no relevance to marriage, no meaning in a discussion of marriage. To the happy pair that have embarked upon the greatest of mutual adventures, promiscuity and divorce are alike impossible. These devices are tolerated or fashioned by society to remedy situations which are of the nature of irregular unions. But for Keyserling neither the sanction of the State nor the blessing of the Church can redeem a merely "static" man-woman association from its essential immorality.

This is something of the "new interpretaion" which Keyserling's collaborators are invited to support. It is obvious that support is needed. Keyserling writes, for example, of civilized marriage, marriage in our own time. It is accordingly neces-

(*Continued on page* 352)

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(*Continued from page* 348)

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